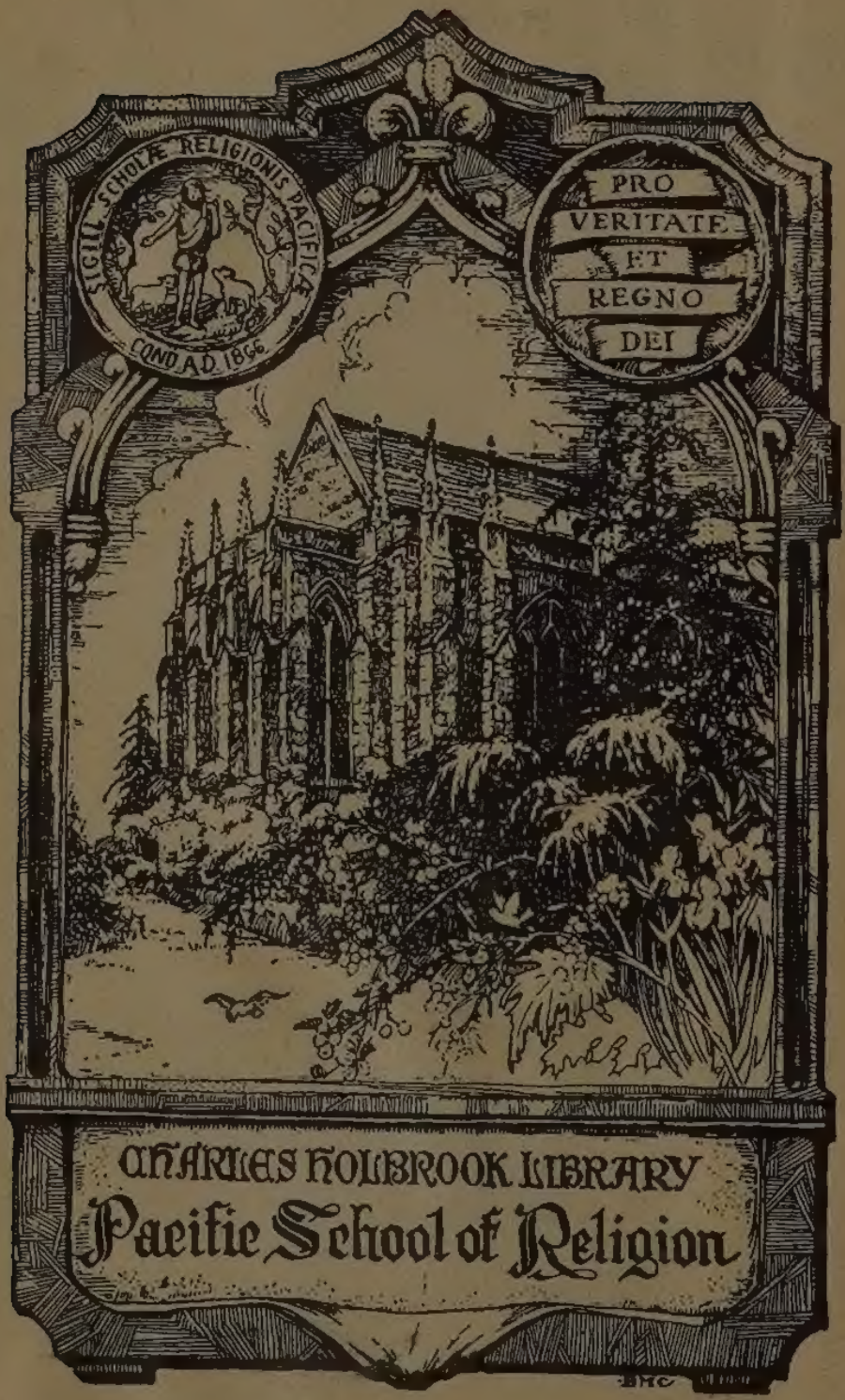
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LIFE AND TEACHING OF PAUL

TO

REV. P. T. FORSYTH, M.A., D.D.

PRINCIPAL OF HACKNEY COLLEGE

AS A SMALL TOKEN OF

GRATITUDE, AFFECTION, AND ESTEEM

AS A FRIEND AND FELLOW-WORKER

IN THE TRAINING OF

THE MINISTRY OF THE GOSPEL

LIFE AND TEACHING OF PAUL

BY

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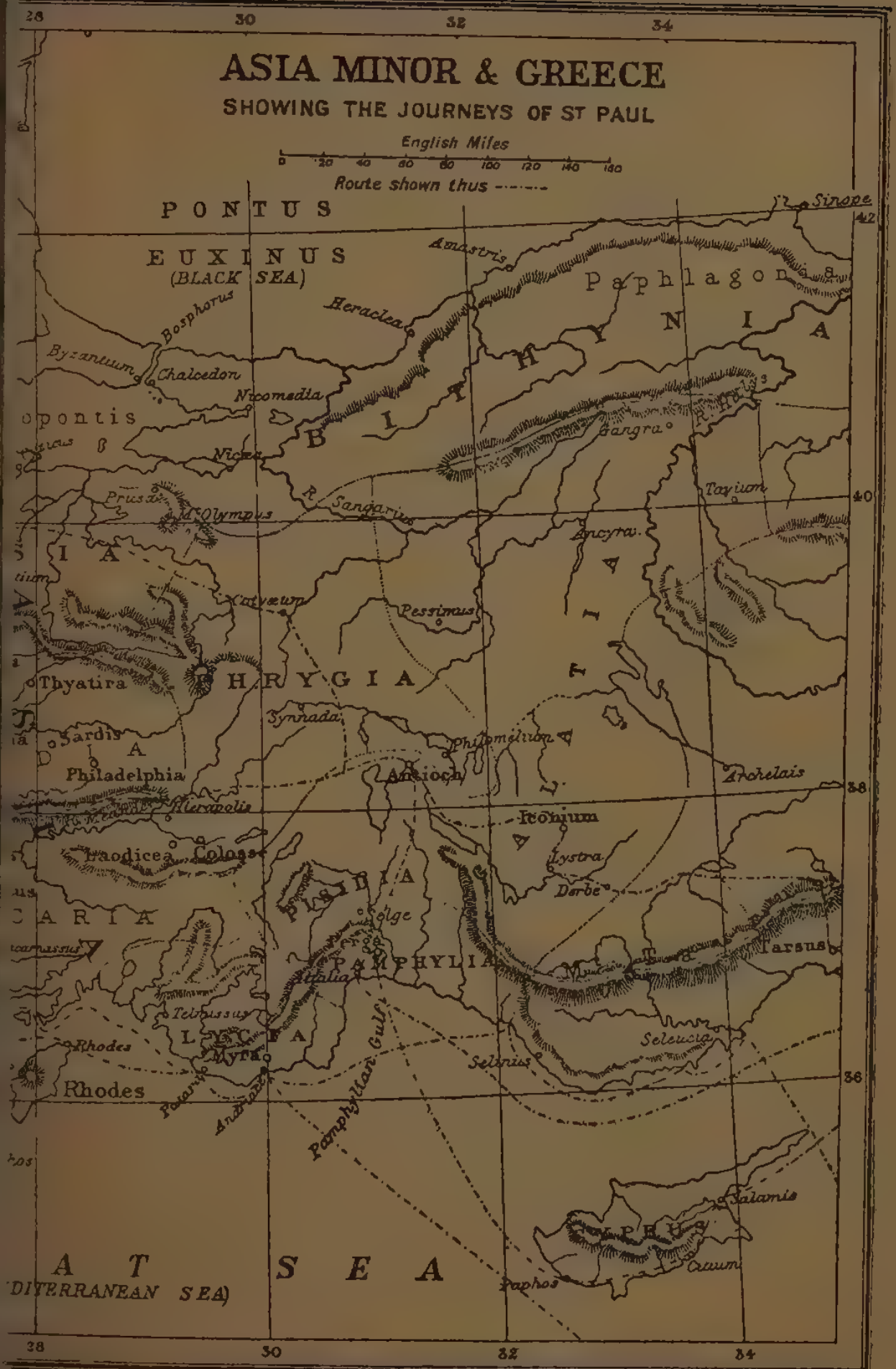
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NOTE

OWING to the limitations of space, it has been necessary to omit much that would otherwise have had a place in this volume. Two important questions, the literary sources and the chronology, have been briefly dealt with in the Appendix. The account of the missionary journeys in Acts is so familiar that the writer, instead of retelling the story, has confined himself to treating questions of special interest or importance. His aim has been mainly so to present the teaching of Paul as to bring out clearly its distinctive features, and to commend its essential content, with the necessary modifications of statement, to Christian thought to-day. In so doing he is but discharging a little of the great debt he himself owes to Paul in Christian living as well as thinking.

LIFE AND TEACHING OF PAUL

CHAPTER I

PAUL THE SCRIBE

(1) **Birth and Training as a Scribe.**—According to Paul's own testimony, he was born in Tarsus of Cilicia (Acts xxi. 39, xxii. 3), inheriting the Roman citizenship (xvi. 37, xxii. 28, xxv. 12); but he was a thorough Jew, speaking Aramaic, sprung from a Pharisaic stock (Phil. iii. 5; II. Cor. xi. 22; II. Tim. i. 3; Acts xxiii. 6). At an early age he was sent up to Jerusalem to be trained as a Rabbi "at the feet of Gamaliel" (xxii. 3, xxvi. 5); but before leaving Tarsus, in accordance with Jewish custom he learned a trade, making tents out of the rough goat's-hair cloth for which the district was famed (xviii. 3). At the time of his arrest he had a sister's son living in Jerusalem (xxiii. 16). Jerome repeats a tradition that he belonged to Gischala in

Galilee, "from which, when captured by the Romans, he removed with his parents to Tarsus in Cilicia." Thus a Jew in race and religion, he not only spent his early years in a Gentile environment, but was by his Roman citizenship put in wider relations endowed with a larger outlook. Tarsus was not only famed for commerce, but also for its university, which ranked with Athens and Alexandria. The Stoic philosophy and Roman law were here taught. By this environment the boy Paul cannot but have been influenced, although there is no proof that he had any extensive or exact Greek culture. His knowledge of Greek literature or philosophy is such as any Jew, living among Greeks, might pick up; and there was much in Greek culture for which he felt only contempt (I. Cor. i. 20; Col. ii. 8). The easy use of the Greek language which he gained was a great help in his work afterwards. To his Roman citizenship he probably owed such familiarity with Roman law as he shows, his recognition of the providential function of the Roman Empire in protecting the preachers of the Gospel, and his aspiration to secure the whole Empire for Christ. But although these influences can be traced in the Christian apostle, they seem for a time at least to

have been entirely suppressed in the Jewish scribe. The double aspect of his personality is indicated in his names—*Saul*, given to him probably because the first king of Israel belonged to his tribe; and *Paul*, possibly suggested by his small stature. Both names were his from childhood; and the second was not adopted as a compliment to the proconsul Sergius Paulus (Acts xiii. 7), although, when he became leader of the mission to the Gentiles, it came to be almost exclusively used.

His education in Jerusalem probably began when he was twelve or thirteen—the beginning of manhood, according to Jewish opinion. His teacher Gamaliel was "called by his contemporaries the Beauty of the Law, and is still remembered among the Jews as the great Rabbi." He was no enemy of Greek culture, although devoted to the traditions of the Fathers; and for a time the pupil was less tolerant than his teacher. The training consisted entirely of the study of the Scriptures, with the interpretations given by previous teachers. There was free questioning and keen discussion, so that the scholars had their wits sharpened and their powers of speech developed. Paul's letters abound in proofs of how much he owed to this training.

His studies influenced his religious disposition and moral character. He was "zealous for God," and "as touching the righteousness which is in the law found blameless" (Phil. iii. 6). For a time, doubtless, he shared the satisfaction with himself as a doer of the law, and the contempt for those not so devoted to God and the law, that characterised Pharisaism. He had "confidence in the flesh." These things were gain to him, although he afterwards learned to count them as loss (vers. 4 and 7).

(2) **His Failure as a Pharisee.**—If he was a thorough Pharisee, well pleased with himself, his peace did not last long. His treatment of the law in *Galatians* and *Romans* shows how much of a burden and a bondage it became to him. The superficial Pharisee was not conscious of his failure to fulfil all the demands of the law; the hypocritical Pharisee only made the pretence of keeping its commands; but the conscientious Pharisee soon discovered that a task was laid upon him beyond his strength. Paul was sincere, and therefore miserable under the law. Assuming that the passage in Rom. vii. 7–25 is autobiographical, it records for us a moral crisis in his life. His conscience discovered that the law forbade evil desire as well as wrong action; and in respect

to coveting or lust he could not find himself blameless. Without committing ourselves to Dr. Bruce's suggestion that he was tempted by sensual desire, although a good deal can be said for it, we are warranted in concluding that Paul found in himself wishes which he knew to be wrong, yet could not suppress. He vainly struggled until he felt helpless and hopeless (ver. 24).

Possibly his misery drove him to undertake a task which to his disposition, as the letters reveal it, must have been uncongenial—the extinction of the Christian community. He mentions his persecuting the Church as an instance of his zeal (Phil. iii. 6). Probably he believed that he could make up for his failure to keep the law in one respect by showing his zeal for it in persecuting those who seemed to be making it null and void by declaring as Messiah one who had died the death which the law pronounced accursed (Gal. iii. 13). Possibly, too, he was angry at the Christians because, if this assertion were true, he had lost even the hope of relief from his misery which the coming of the Messiah held out to him. When Stephen's boldness in preaching Jesus as the Christ had excited the anger of the multitude in Jerusalem, Paul came to the front. Though he did not cast a stone at the first martyr, he approved the deed

(vii. 58). The spirit in which Stephen met death, with trust in God and forgiveness for man, did not at once arrest his fury; but who can doubt that he already felt the goad against which he kept vainly kicking? He describes his own career as persecutor in Acts xxvi. 9–11. What might have been a brief outbreak of mob-violence, he seems to have turned into a systematic and extending persecution. As the words, "I gave my vote against them," indicate, his reputation as a scribe had already won him a place in the Sanhedrin, or this honour was one of the rewards of his persecuting zeal. If he had any doubts or scruples in regard to his course of action, he crushed them. But he did not thus find the deliverance from a torturing conscience which he sought.

Afterwards looking back on his action, though he bitterly regretted it and severely judged it, yet he recognised that it had not been in defiance of his conscience (I. Tim. i. 13). His Pharisaism could not secure moral victory, but it could stimulate persecuting zeal. It was a preparation for his conversion, in so far as it taught him that righteousness is not, and cannot be, by works of the law. Before passing to his Christian experience, let us gather up the beliefs which he carried with him.

(3) **His Beliefs as a Scribe of the Pharisees.**—(i.) Josephus tells us that the three sects of Judaism were divided on the question of *divine providence and human freedom.* The Pharisees affirmed both; the Sadducees denied the former, and the Essenes the latter. In his argument in regard to the rejection of the Jews and acceptance of the Gentiles by God in Rom. ix.–xi., Paul maintains the freedom, unbelief, and guilt of man, but also asserts an absolute divine providence. God can do as He will; men in His hands are as clay in the hands of the potter. While his conclusion that "God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all" (xi. 32) is inspired by his Christian faith, yet it is not the distinctively Christian conception of God that dominates the earlier stage of his argument, in which he asserts an unconditional divine election.

Again, one cannot but recognise that his representation of "*the righteousness of God*" in Rom. i.–iii. has been affected by the Pharisaic conception of God as Ruler, Lawgiver, Judge. One may admit that the conception of a moral order in the world, which must be maintained so that God's moral character may not be obscured or man's moral conscience be confused, is not merely Pharisaic, but universally and permanently

valid; and that in the death of Christ there is such a manifestation of holy love in self-sacrifice as asserts that order, vindicates that character, and satisfies that conscience; and yet one may be forced to maintain that it was not only because Paul was meeting the Judaisers on their own ground, but also because he himself had been a Pharisee, that the argument assumes the forensic character, which has been an offence to so many believers.

That God was conceived by Paul as personal, and even that much of his language is anthropomorphic, can hardly be set down to his Pharisaism, as it is the impulse of religion to think of God as personal and as akin to man. It is doubtful whether we are justified in affirming, as Weinel does, "that Paul seriously conceives God under the image of a man as distinct from a woman" ("St. Paul, the Man and his Work," p. 24), on the strength of the distinctly artificial Rabbinical argument of I. Cor. xi. 7–9, to prove the inferiority of woman as a reason why she should be veiled.

(ii.) For his *cosmology*, the universe consists of three parts—heaven, earth, and the abode of the dead. He means to give a complete account of Creation in

the words "things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth" (Phil. ii. 10). Christ at death "descended into the lower parts of the earth": in rising again He "ascended far above all the heavens" (Eph. iv. 9). From heaven He will appear at His Second Coming (I. Thess. i. 10). The saints already have their glorified bodies in heaven (II. Cor. v. 1). In a trance Paul believed himself to have been caught up into the third heaven, even into Paradise (II. Cor. xii. 2–4). This heavenly world, as eternal, is the object of desire of those who groan under the bondage of corruption in this earthly life (II. Cor. iv. 18; Rom. viii. 21–22). All this does not belong to the Christian revelation in Paul, but to his Pharisaic inheritance. Probably Weinel forces a meaning unintended by Paul on the description of the bodies celestial and terrestial in I. Cor. xv. 40, when he represents him as anticipating for the risen in Christ a home in the stars.

(iii.) A marked distinction between Pharisees and Sadducees is expressed in Acts xxiii. 8: "The Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit; but the Pharisees confess both." Paul, even as a Christian, felt himself to be in closer agreement

with the Pharisees than the Sadducees. While the manner of Christ's death made it for a time impossible for him to believe in His resurrection as the proof of His Messiahship, the possibility of a resurrection was not doubted by him. If the story of the woman who had seven husbands, brought by the Sadducees as an objection to the belief in the Resurrection, is a specimen of the kind of argument they were wont to appeal to in their controversies on this question with the Pharisees (Matt. xxii. 23), the current belief must have been that there would be a literal reproduction of earthly conditions; and this other evidence proves it to have been. Whether Paul after his conversion became familiar with Christ's rebuke of this gross conception or not, yet he did not continue to hold the belief in this form; it was one of the things which became new in Christ. "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption" (I. Cor. xv. 50).

(iv.) The belief in *angels and spirits*, on the other hand, he took over with little modification. The Christian faith assured him of Christ's victory over all hostile spiritual powers, and of the security that He offers to all believers. God raised Christ far

above all these (Eph. i. 21); and His crucifixion was a victory gained over them (Col. ii. 15). The hostility of evil spirits was to Paul a present reality, even when he was assured of their defeat by Christ. He expands the phrase "the wiles of the devil" in the statement: "Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (Eph. vi. 12). It was not only in the Epistles (*Colossians* and *Ephesians*), concerned with an incipient Greek heresy, that Paul dealt with this belief. He expresses his certainty of the Christian salvation in a challenge to these powers (Rom. viii. 39). For us to-day such language appears poetical, and we treat it as figurative speech; but Paul was expressing a distinct and confident belief.

As is well known, the Old Testament has only the beginnings of a doctrine of *Satan*, and angels good or bad. The belief in a kingdom of angels of light under God, and a kingdom of angels of darkness under Satan, was borrowed by Judaism from the Persian religion. While the Sadducees rejected the doctrine as an innovation, the Pharisees fully accepted it. It is prominent in the

Apocryphal books, and still more the Apocalyptic literature. For Paul, Satan is "the god of this world (or age) who hath blinded the minds of the unbelieving, that the light of the Gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God, should not dawn upon them" (II. Cor. iv. 4). "The rulers of this world (or age) which are coming to nought" (I. Cor. ii. 6) are evil spirits, whose complete subjection is the triumph of God's kingdom on earth (I. Cor. xv. 24). For Paul these are not abstract terms, as for us, but the titles of orders of spiritual beings. When Christ came to earth, He was not recognised by the rulers of this age; had He been, even they would have shrunk from the guilt of His death (I. Cor. ii. 8). Not as "manifested in the flesh," but as "justified in the spirit"—that is, only after His Resurrection was He "seen of angels" (I. Tim. iii. 16).

In Paul's experience Satan was very real. Whether he thought of him as black or not, at least he held that to effect his purposes he must sometimes transform himself (II. Cor. xi. 14). He is the tempter (I. Thess. iii. 5), who may allure from the Christian faith. Undue severity to a Christian brother would be giving Satan an advantage, would show ignorance of his wiles (II. Cor. ii. 11). Sensual desire may be one of the means used by him

(I. Cor. vii. 5). Any hindrance to the work of God, even bodily infirmity, is due to him (I. Thess. ii. 18). Paul's own "stake in the flesh," whatever it may have been, was "a messenger of Satan to buffet" him, and yet he recognises that it served a good end, "that I should not be exalted overmuch," and that its continuance was God's will (II. Cor. xii. 7–9). While showing his enlightenment by denying that "an idol is anything," he nevertheless regards heathen sacrifices as offerings to demons, and participation in the sacrificial feast as a communion with demons just as real as is the communion with Christ in the Lord's Supper (I. Cor. x. 19–22). The beauty of women, if unveiled, may tempt angels present at the Christian worship (I. Cor. xi. 10. No other more probable meaning can be found for the obscure clause "because of the angels"). Paul admits the abstract possibility that "an angel from heaven" might preach another Gospel to the Galatians, and unhesitatingly judges him "let him be anathema" (Gal. i. 8). The angels which fall into sin will be judged by the saints (I. Cor. vi. 3). The angels as well as men are spectators of the sufferings of the apostles (iv. 9). While there are spirits altogether evil, many of the angels are neither good nor bad, liable to present temptation, and subject

to future judgment. The ministry of good angels is not at all prominent in Paul's letters. Their agency in the mediation of the law is probably regarded by him as an evidence of its inferiority to the Gospel, which is directly given by God (Gal. iii. 19). He was far more conscious of temptation by the evil spirits than of the ministration of the good. His belief as a Pharisee in such hostile spiritual powers undoubtedly cast a shadow over his world, deepened the tragedy of his own moral struggle: the revelation of God in Christ did not free him from the belief, but robbed it of its terror.

(v.) Paul's doctrine of *man* is not altogether original, but is derived from the teaching of the Jewish schools. He adopts the Old Testament psychology: for him man is body, soul, and spirit. His doctrine of the *flesh* is not derived from Greek dualism, but is a development of the Hebrew conception. Creaturely weakness through the entrance and dominion of sin in man, becomes moral perversity. Whether in his view of the *flesh* we may further detect "the personal equation," will be afterwards discussed; meanwhile we note only that there is a connection with the current beliefs of Judaism.

The existence in man of a wicked or corrupt heart, of

wickedness or corruptness, is recognised in the Jewish schools, and is traced back to Adam. This God left in men, even when He gave them the law (II. Esdras iii. 20–22). The multiplication of the one transgression is very vividly pictured, a great harvest from a seed (iv. 30). Death is regarded as the result of sin (vii. 48). The absolute universality of sin is not affirmed; Pharisaism assumed the possibility of man's keeping the law; but Paul had discovered for himself that the law could not be kept; and therefore, when he reproduces this teaching in Rom. v. 12–21, he affirms confidently "death passed unto all men, for that all sinned."

In the Old Testament, the story of the Fall in Genesis iii. is nowhere used to explain the existence of sin or death; but in the Apocryphal writings this explanation is found. In Wisdom ii. 23–24, man's creation in God's image, and man's fall into sin and death "by the envy of the devil," are asserted. Woman's share in bringing about the tragedy is clearly stated (Ecclesiasticus xxv. 24). Owing to his keener moral insight and severer moral struggle, Paul had a sense of the world's sin and misery far greater than was at all common in Pharisaism, and it was this difference that prepared him more readily to welcome the Christian salvation.

(vi.) As a Christian Paul was delivered from his Jewish exclusiveness. He saw the idolatry and corruption of the Gentiles, and yet recognised, as a Pharisee would not have done, that there was "law written in their hearts" (Rom. ii. 14–16). The arrogance of the Jew, which he describes and then rebukes in verses 17–24, he probably had himself felt and shown, at least as long as he was a satisfied Pharisee. While he laid aside this spirit, yet even at his own conversion he did not abandon his belief that he belonged to a people chosen, called, and fitted by God to be the bearer of divine revelation. "They were entrusted with the oracles of God" (Rom. iii. 2).

Of these oracles he held the view current in the schools of the scribes. What is written in the law of Moses is said by God (I. Cor. ix. 9, 10). "Every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness" (II. Tim. iii. 16). Paul's use of the Old Testament in support of his arguments assumes the absolute authority. When he infers from the command, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn," that the apostle has a right to support (I. Cor. ix. 9, 10), he offers us an instance of the Rabbinic *Halacha*,

or interpretation of the law to cover cases not expressly provided for. When he expands the story of the water that flowed from the rock in Horeb (Ex. xvii. 6) in the statement "for they drank of a spiritual rock that followed them" (x. 4), he is reproducing the *Haggada*, or elaboration of the history for edification. When he calls attention to the singular in the promise to Abraham, "He saith not, And to seeds, as of many, but as of one, And to thy seed," and infers that Christ is directly referred to (Gal. iii. 16), he allows himself just one of those verbal artificialities of interpretation dear to the scribes. An instance of the allegorical method, so widely used by Philo in order to read Greek philosophy into the Hebrew Scriptures, is found in the same epistle, where Abraham's "two sons, one by the handmaid, and one by the freewoman," are treated as an allegory of Judaism and Christianity (iv. 21–31). The passage in I. Cor. x. 1–11, already referred to as containing a bit of Jewish *Haggada*, is also an example of the method of interpretation, which is akin to the allegorical, but claims even more confidently to understand the divine intention in events. Of the varied experiences of Israel in the wilderness Paul affirms: "In these things they became figures of us" (x. 6). "These things happened

to them by way of figure" (v. 11). The typology which was once so common in the Christian Church, but which modern scholarship has quite discredited, was for Paul a valid method. No distinction was made between the parts of the Old Testament which were expressly predictive and those where there was no such intention. A verbal coincidence, without any regard to the context, was enough to suggest a prophecy and its fulfilment. Hosea's threat to the northern kingdom that God would in judgment disown it as His people, and His promise that afterwards in mercy He would again call it His people (ii. 23), is treated as a prediction of God's call of the Gentiles into the Christian Church (Rom. ix. 25). The words in Malachi, "I loved Jacob, but Esau I hated" (i. 2, 3), which describe the lot of two peoples, are quoted as a proof of God's unconditional election of the one son, and as unconditional rejection of the other son of Rebecca even before birth (Rom. ix. 13). It is to be observed, however, that Paul's use of the Old Testament in the Rabbinic way is almost entirely confined to his controversy with the Judaisers; in the exposition of his Christian faith he does not need to build on such unsubstantial foundations. It must be added also that his spiritual discernment does restrain him

from the trivialities and extravagances, in which some scribes indulged.

(viii.) In the Scriptures, which he so regarded as "the oracles of God," Paul as a Pharisee most highly prized *the law*. Even when he had learned that Christ was the end of the law, he described it as "holy, righteous, and good," as "spiritual" (Rom. vii. 12, 14). After proving his thesis that justification is by faith for Jew and Gentile alike, he vehemently repudiates the suggestion that he is making "the law of none effect through faith," with the affirmation, "God forbid; nay, we establish the law" (Rom. iii. 31). At one time he did believe that the demands of the law could be kept, and that "he that doeth them shall live in them" (Gal. iii. 12). Only afterwards did he discover the curse of the law.

Even before this discovery, however, he probably delighted in *the promises of God*. Messianic prophecy was cultivated in the schools of the scribes. The Apocalyptic literature shows how eagerly the eyes of the pious were turned towards the future, how fervent were the hopes of God's deliverance of His people, and His judgment of their enemies. As a Christian Paul believed that the Messiah had come,

but much that he had expected as a Pharisee in Messiah's first coming he now anticipated in regard to Christ's Second Advent. Not a little in Paul's Christology and eschatology can be paralleled in the Messianic prophecy current in Judaism. In the *Psalms of Solomon* (belonging to the time when Pompey entered Jerusalem, 63 B.C.), especially the seventeenth and eighteenth Psalms, we get a clear and full picture of what the Pharisees expected that the Messiah would be and do. This Pharisaic hope was exclusively national and distinctively legalistic. Paul's Christian faith did make the Messianic hope new in its evangelical and universalist character, but some of the older elements were retained. Judaism interpreted the second Psalm in a Messianic sense, and so was prepared to call the Messiah Son of God. In one of the Apocalypses the Messiah appears as the Son of Man, and is endowed with transcendent attributes. The pre-existence of the Messiah in heaven with God, waiting at the appointed time to be sent forth, was also taught in some Jewish circles (compare I. Cor. i. 7, xv. 45–49; Gal. iv. 4; Rom. viii. 3). If we are to press the literal sense of the words in I. Cor. x. 4, "the rock was Christ," then Paul would seem

o have shared the belief, current in his own time, that
ne pre-existent Messiah had manifested Himself in
arious forms in the history of Israel. Paul's views
f the Resurrection, the judgment of the world,
nd the triumph of the Kingdom of God, although
onnected with the Second Coming of Christ, were
ast in the mould of the Jewish expectations of the
Iessiah's coming.

The frank and full recognition of the debt Paul
ne Christian theologian owed to the Rabbinic school
n which he was trained does not depreciate his origin-
lity or authority; for we are coming to recognise more
nd more that even the great man owes much to his
eredity and environment. Paul had a Gospel, which
e did not learn from men, but which was revealed to
im by God through His spirit; and we shall be
ole to apprehend that Gospel more clearly, and con-
equently appreciate it more highly, if we can dis-
nguish from its essential and distinctive features
hatever did not belong to it. Whatever opinions
nd beliefs Paul carried over from his Pharisaism,
could not meet his spirit's deepest needs; it could
nly disclose to him his moral impotence; it drove
m, distressed in soul, in a frenzy of ignorant un-

belief for a time to reject as blasphemy the revelation of God for which his heart and flesh were crying out, and to persecute, even unto death, those who, having for themselves received the divine salvation, desired to impart it to others. "The commandment which was unto life he found to be unto death," until the life of God in the Risen Christ was revealed to him on the way to Damascus.

CHAPTER II

PAUL THE BELIEVER

(1) **Paul's Preparation.**—Although the conversion of Paul is usually regarded as sudden, yet the study of the religious consciousness to-day by the methods of scientific psychology leads us to look for some previous preparation; and such is suggested by the words "it is hard for thee to kick against the goad" (Acts xxvi. 14). He realised his moral impotence to keep the law. He desired by his zeal in persecuting the Christians to make up for this failure. He hoped that Messiah's coming might bring him deliverance from sin and relief of his misery. He was maddened by the confession of the Christians that the Messiah had come, but had been rejected, and had died the shameful and accursed death of the Cross. He could not bring himself to believe that their testimony that this crucified Messiah was risen from the dead was

true, and so he set himself to stamp out this blasphemy. Did the bearing of the persecuted ever make him doubt whether he was assuredly right and doing God's will? Did he ask himself whether, after all, their witness might not be true? If so, he crushed all his scruples and fears and pressed on in the path he had chosen. While, on the one hand, all the evidence we have is opposed to the common assumption that Paul was in such a condition of soul that a subjective illusion of Christ's presence and voice was enough to bring about a thorough change from unbelief to faith, yet, on the other hand, there are indications that, without some such inward process as has been just suggested, he could not have accepted even an objective manifestation of Christ as a convincing proof that He was risen, and that therefore, though He had been crucified, He was indeed the Messiah. Such an external compulsion of faith would not be at all in accord with the character of the Christian revelation.

(2) **The Records of the Conversion in Acts.**—There are three records of the conversion in the Acts (ix. 1–19, xxii. 6–16, xxvi. 12–18). The call to apostleship among the Gentiles is not mentioned in the first account, although it is revealed to Ananias (ix. 15).

In the second account the call is mentioned only in connection with a subsequent vision during prayer in the temple (xxii. 21). In the third account no mention is made of the part played by Ananias, and the call is immediately connected with his conversion (xxvi. 16–18). The probability is that in the third account a much condensed summary is before us, and so the call appears antedated. It is likely that Paul only gradually, as he meditated on God's dealings with him and came to understand the Gospel entrusted to him, realised the task which God had assigned to him. As we study his work as a missionary we shall see that he was divinely guided step by step. In Isaiah's call (chapter vi.) we seem to have a similar fusing of distinct experiences into one.

The accounts do not strictly agree, although they do not necessarily contradict one another, as regards what Paul's companions saw or heard. Probably they did see a bright light, but not the form of Christ, as Paul saw; did hear a sound, but not the voice, and the words uttered, as he heard. In all the accounts the first words Paul heard were, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" In the third is added the reproach, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goad"

(xxvi. 14). In all the accounts his question, "Who art thou, Lord?" secures the same answer, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest." In xxii. 8 "of Nazareth" is added to "Jesus." Beyond this the close correspondence ceases. In the second account alone Paul asks the question, "What shall I do, Lord?" (xxii. 10), surely a characteristic utterance, indicating his submission. In the first and second accounts he is bidden go to Damascus, and there wait the further divine guidance. He spends three days without sight, neither eating nor drinking (ix. 9). Then Ananias is sent to him to lay his hands upon him, that the Holy Ghost may come upon him, and that his sight may be restored. Ananias' remonstrance that he has come to Damascus as a persecutor is met by the assurance of his calling (as already mentioned). Filled with the Holy Ghost, and restored to sight, Paul arises, is baptized, takes food, and is strengthened.

(3) **Weinel's Explanation of the Conversion.**—Weinel, whose appreciative study of the Apostle is vitiated by his bias against the supernatural, considers that "the story in Acts of the healing and directing of Paul by Ananias is hardly tenable, considering the apostle's own solemn assertion that 'he conferred not with flesh and blood'

(Gal. i. 16)," and this suggests one way in which the account of the temporary blindness may be got rid of. As an alternative explanation, allowing that the blindness was real, he states that "just as hair may whiten in a sudden fright, so the eye may be disorganised by a psychical commotion." Paul's statement in Galatians refers to his relation to the apostles in Jerusalem; and it is simply exegetical violence to use it for the exclusion of the ministry of Ananias to Paul. The story as it is told in Acts can be suspected only when the miraculous is regarded as incredible. The alternative explanation of the blindness need be considered only if the whole event can be reduced to "a psychical commotion." This is, of course, Weinel's intention. "We must take the inward experience of the apostle, the vision, to be really that which effected the change in his life. Or rather it accompanied, it did not effect that change. Struggles which proceed in our own souls much less vehemently are condensed into visions in the souls of prophets." The miracle must be excluded. "However we may imagine the details of the occurrence to ourselves, we shall always recognise in the struggle of Paul's soul, in the mould of his character, his encounters with the Christians, and his personal fanaticism, the moving

causes which ultimately transformed him in a sudden change" ("St. Paul," pp. 82–84). The one cause to which Paul ascribed the change, the one cause to which a multitude of Christians have assigned a similar change in themselves—the present, living, mighty, gracious Saviour and Lord—is not even mentioned. The fine words which follow about our faith needing no pledge, such as did the faith of the Jews in miracle, are simply, in the literal sense of the word, an impertinence. The Christian believer is here not concerned about any physical miracle, any departure from natural order; the issue involved is this: Is the object of the Christian faith, Christ Himself, a present reality, supersensible, yet so mighty and gracious that, if need be, He can even sensibly manifest Himself?

(4) **Paul's Account in his Letters.**—What does Paul tell us about the change and how it was wrought? ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων ὡσπερεὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι ὤφθη κἀμοί—"and last of all, as to an abortion, he appeared to me also" (I. Cor. xv. 8). The rendering of ὡσπερεὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι by "as unto one born out of due time" is a delicacy which is nothing else than an infidelity of rendering. If Paul chose to describe his conversion as an abnormal, violent, and forced birth, why should we shrink from

making his meaning plain? As an offspring torn from the mother's womb, so was he wrested from his Pharisaism. The appearance by which this change was wrought is, by the use of the same word ὤφθη, represented as being equally objective with the appearances to the other witnesses of the Resurrection. Paul never treats this manifestation as of the same order as "the visions and revelations of the Lord," of which he does not consider it expedient that he should boast (II. Cor. xii. 1). In vindicating his apostleship as not a whit behind that of any of the others, he asks, "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" clearly referring to this appearance (I. Cor. ix. 1). He is probably thinking of the vision on the way to Damascus, when he compares his own enlightenment with the appearance of light at the Creation (II. Cor. iv. 6). "The glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ"—would Paul have so described an inward process of growing enlightenment? Paul's phrase in Gal. i. 15, "to reveal his Son in me," does not, as is sometimes insisted, contradict, or even modify, the impression which the other evidence offers, that the change in Paul was brought about by "seeing Jesus" and hearing His voice. A confirmation of the mode of his conversion, as a thorough and sudden change brought about by the

mighty grace of Christ Himself, is to be found in his conception of the Christian life as a new creation (II. Cor. v. 17 ; Gal. vi. 15).

(5) **The Recognition of what the Change meant.**—But just as we have learned to think of the evolution of nature as the mode of divine creation, so may we recognise that it was only slowly Paul learned all his conversion meant. He confessed, and sealed his confession by his baptism, that Jesus was Messiah. He was possessed by the same "holy enthusiasm" as characterised the primitive community. In the synagogue he proclaimed Jesus "that he is the Son of God," he proved that "this is the Christ" (Acts ix. 20, 22). This testimony would doubtless include the common Christian teaching "that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures ; and that he was buried, and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures" (I. Cor. xv. 3, 4). The record in Acts would suggest that he taught in the synagogue in Damascus even as the other witnesses, but with a passion and a power which provoked greater antagonism. He had to effect his escape secretly from Damascus, as a plot against his life was formed (ix. 23–25 ; *cf.* II. Cor. xi. 32–33, where Paul mentions this escape as one of the things that concern

his weakness). On his arrival in Jerusalem, he was suspected by the Christian community; but Barnabas, who, either from Paul himself or from others, had learned the story of his conversion and bold preaching in Damascus, secured for him a friendly welcome. His preaching to the Greek-speaking Jews again awoke a hate which threatened his life, and he was sent off to Tarsus by way of Cæsarea (26–30).

If we had only the record in Acts before us we might suppose that Paul simply learned the common tradition about Jesus as the Messiah, although he was able to preach it with greater fervour and force, attracting more attention and exciting warmer opposition. This would explain an obscure statement regarding his knowledge of "Christ after the flesh" (II. Cor. v. 16). The conception of the Messiah in the primitive community was quite consistent with the restriction of its preaching to Jews. Paul himself tells us that he left Jerusalem because Jesus appeared to him in a trance, bidding him depart (1) "because they will not receive of thee testimony concerning me," and (2) "for I will send thee forth far hence unto the Gentiles" (xxii. 18, 21); and indicates that he himself desired to continue bearing witness where his persecuting zeal was best

known. At this point we might suppose a change in his conception of the Gospel, and consequently in his consciousness of his vocation.

But when we turn to Paul's account of his actions after his conversion (Gal. i. 15–20), this view seems to fall altogether to the ground. He "conferred not with flesh and blood"; he did not go to the apostles in Jerusalem, but went away to Arabia; only after three years he spent fifteen days with Cephas in Jerusalem, and then of the other apostles saw only James. Even without the solemn asseveration with which this passage closes, Paul's report as first hand is to be preferred to Luke's, which may not have come to him directly.

Paul's aim is to vindicate his independence of the other apostles, and he, therefore, lays stress on the circumstances which proved it. Luke's intention is rather to emphasise the essential unity of Paul with the other apostles. It is possible to insert the visit to Arabia, which need not have lasted very much more than a year, in the narrative in Acts ix. between verses 21 and 22, and Luke may have said nothing about it, even if he knew of it, because it belonged to Paul's private life rather than public ministry.

His account of Paul's work in Jerusalem, which finds its confirmation in Paul's own allusion in xxii. 18–21, if we may regard the speech as authentic, suggests a publicity which Paul's account of his visit to Cephas, and his meeting with James alone of the other apostles, does not.

The view of a gradual spiritual development, stimulated by intercourse with the other apostles, has greater psychological probability. Such ignorance of, and indifference to, the teaching of the leaders in the Christian community on the part of the new convert would even suggest a moral problem. Only the uniqueness, certainty, and sufficiency of the revelation by God of His Son in Paul can explain this attitude of independence. It was not because he despised flesh and blood that he sought no conference with it, but because the divine revelation so completely absorbed his interest and attention. In the months of solitude in Arabia, his soul alone with God, he meditated on the revelation made to him, and his distinctive Gospel took its shape. With his Gospel he also found his call to be the apostle to the Gentiles. While, as the record in Acts shows, he waited for the divine guidance in events, yet we do not do

justice to his self-witness unless we admit that he became aware of his vocation, if not at his conversion, yet as soon as he realised what his conversion meant, what was involved in the divine revelation which in it and its consequences came to him. In a personality like Paul's, we must be prepared for the exceptional rather than the ordinary in experience.

(6) **Paul's Christian Experience.**—Without at this stage attempting to formulate his theology, we may consider the essential elements of his Christian experience, as he describes them himself in Phil. iii. 7–11. He abandoned the desire and the effort, which had marked his life as a Pharisee, for a righteousness of his own, a righteousness secured by the performance of the works of the law. He welcomed and accepted the righteousness which God offered in Christ to faith—that is, the forgiveness of his sins, the fellowship of the child of God with his Father. He secured this righteousness in Christ, in His death and rising again. It is probable that he reached his view of the Cross at an early stage of his Christian experience. A man like Paul could not have found peace in a pardon which did not satisfy his conscience. Guilt was removed by atonement; the guilty

sinner lost himself by being found in the atoning Saviour.

The divine righteousness in Christ brought a new moral motive and moral power into his life, the constraining love of Christ (II. Cor. v. 14–15), his glorying in the Cross (Gal. vi. 14). There is the gratitude of human self-surrender for the grace of the divine self-sacrifice. The record in Acts tells us that Ananias laid his hands upon him that "he might be filled with the Holy Ghost" (ix. 17). This was not only "a holy enthusiasm" of speaking with tongues, prophesying, &c., but also "a holy energy" of purity and benevolence (Rom. viii. 2). It was by this power that he was delivered out of the body of death (vii. 24).

Paul connected the righteousness of God, in which he found the pardon of his sins, and the Spirit of God with Jesus Christ. If the righteousness of God is revealed in the Cross, the Spirit of God works through the Risen Lord. If reconciliation is through His blood, salvation as the complete deliverance from sin, its guilt, power, doom, is by His life (v. 8–10). Christian life for Paul was life in Christ. To gain Christ, to be found in Him, to know Him, these are the phrases he uses to

describe the relation. This union and communion with Christ is a reproduction in the Christian of Christ's experience. He is crucified and risen with Christ. His renunciation of sin is crucifixion with Christ; his consecration to God is resurrection with Christ. By this Paul means more than that Christ is the type of his life; Christ is also the source. His consecration unto God involved sacrifice, an offering of himself in manifold ways in the ministry of the Gospel; and this for him is "the fellowship of Christ's sufferings, becoming conformed unto His death." Yet in the sacrifice he always experiences "the power of His resurrection," sustaining, inspiring, delivering, causing to triumph.

Christ brought to Paul a new hope. He was one who felt keenly the mystery and the terror of death, but because for him to live was Christ, even death itself came to be for him gain (Phil. i. 21). He was confident that in Christ the mortal would be swallowed up of life (II. Cor. v. 4). He shrank from being unclothed (disembodied), and thus it was his fervent aspiration that in Christ he might "attain unto the resurrection from the dead" (Phil. iii, 11).

The Christian experience thus sketched, the life in Christ, was Paul's in circumstances which tested and

proved its worth. His life, as we shall see, was one of constant toils, perils, pains, cares, griefs, struggles. He suffered not only in himself, but for others. His love for his converts brought him a double burden of anxiety for them, often disappointment with them, sometimes even ingratitude from them. As in regard to "the stake in the flesh" (II. Cor. xii. 7, 9), so with respect to all these things, he found Christ's grace sufficient, and His strength perfected in his own weakness. What that "stake in the flesh" was, it seems idle for us to inquire, for all endeavours to solve the problem have proved more or less vain. If it was disease, it was a disease which the Apostle himself felt as a humiliation, and which excited the contempt of others (Gal. iv. 13, 14). It is not easy to understand how the Apostle, who bravely suffered so many hardships, was so distressed by this suffering, if only bodily pain or weakness was involved. More probable is the suggestion that it was a recurrent violent temptation. To the writer it seems not unlikely that it was the haunting memory of his deeds as persecutor, or the permanent consequence of some of these acts, which brought his soul into such distress; or it may have been the violent hostility to which, in his labours as

Apostle to the Gentiles, he was exposed, not only from unbelieving Jews, but even Jewish Christians. Sometimes he was nigh unto despair, yet God delivered him (II. Cor. i. 8, 9).

If we consider his circumstances, it must be a surprise to us that his spirit is so joyful and hopeful, and that his letters so abound in praise to God. Almost every epistle begins with thanksgiving. The secret of his life is surely disclosed in the counsel, "Pray without ceasing"; without this he could not have bidden his converts "rejoice alway" and "in everything give thanks" (I. Thess. v. 16–18). Had he not continued steadfastly in prayer, he could not have rejoiced in hope nor been patient in tribulation (Rom. xii. 12). The point of view from which he regarded his whole life gave it not only a religious sanction, but a divine inspiration. He thought of all his labours and trials as "a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God," for him "a reasonable service" (Rom. xii. 1), as man's thank-offering for God's atoning sacrifice. Even if death was involved in this sacrifice he was quite willing for it (Phil. ii. 17, 18).

Although Christ's grace abounded toward him, yet does he speak of himself as chief of sinners (I. Tim.

i. 15), as "less than the least of all saints" (Eph. iii. 8), as "the least of the apostles, and not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God" (I. Cor. xv. 9). He was humble, not only because he could not forget the persecutor, but also because he was conscious that he had not already obtained, nor had already been made perfect (Phil. iii. 13, 14). If at first he was cheered by the expectation to survive until the Second Coming of Christ, burdened by sorrows, cares, sufferings, he came, towards the end, to long for death, that, absent from the body, he might be at home with the Lord (II. Cor. v. 8). Yet he was willing to abide in the flesh for the sake of his converts (Phil. i. 25), for, living or dying, he was always and only the Lord's.

CHAPTER III

PAUL THE MISSIONARY

(1) **Paul in Antioch with Barnabas.**—When Paul left Jerusalem for Tarsus (Acts ix. 30), it was with the consciousness that he was to carry the Gospel to the Gentiles (21, 22). He was not idle, but laboured in "the regions of Syria and Cilicia" (Gal. i. 21) probably for seven or eight years. Meanwhile the Church was being prepared to undertake a wider missionary enterprise. Stephen's speech (vii.) was the first declaration that religion was independent of temple and law alike; and possibly, if he had been allowed to finish, he would have claimed that the Gentiles would be chosen instead of the Jews. One result of the persecution his boldness provoked was Philip's mission to Samaria (viii. 1–13), and the confirmation of his work there by the visit of Peter and John (14–25). Peter's visit to and baptism of Cornelius (x.) was found fault with in Jerusalem, and

he had to justify his action by giving an account of the vision that had overcome his own scruples (xi. 1–18). His case was regarded as exceptional, and there was, therefore, not a little surprise in Jerusalem when it was reported that some of the Hellenist Jews from Cyprus and Cyrene, who had been driven to Antioch from Jerusalem by the persecution, had ventured to preach to the Greeks, and that a number of them had believed. Barnabas was sent down to inquire and report. He was quite satisfied with what had been done, and in order to strengthen and widen the work, not only remained himself, but brought Paul from Tarsus to be his fellow-worker (xi. 19–26). If we may venture to read between the lines, Paul had during these years in Tarsus felt keenly his isolation from the Church in Jerusalem, and its failure to give any encouragement to the work among the Gentiles, to which he felt himself called. Only such a feeling of disappointment can explain the tone of his references to his relations to the apostles (Gal. i. 11–24). His call to Antioch he welcomed as the opportunity for which he had been waiting. Such a mood of exaltation would account for the vision to which he refers in II. Cor. xii. 1–4.

For a year Paul laboured with Barnabas in Antioch,

and such was the success of the Gospel that the Church attracted the attention of the heathen populace, and that a nickname for the new society was devised. "The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch" (xi. 26). Warned by the prophet Agabus of a great famine, which, according to Josephus, was at its worst in A.D. 45 or 46, the Church in Antioch, to show its brotherly love, and thus to win over the narrow Jewish section in Jerusalem still hostile to the work among the Gentiles, sent its most distinguished men, Barnabas and Paul, with a generous gift to relieve the need of the saints in Jerusalem. Regarding the visit (Acts xi. 27–30, xii. 25) there is a serious difficulty. Paul describes a visit to Jerusalem, fourteen years after either his first visit or his conversion (Gal. ii. 1–10). This has usually been identified with that reported in Acts xv. But if so, why is Paul altogether silent about this visit with Barnabas to bear these gifts from Antioch? and why is his account so different from that of Luke? It is suggested that Paul did not mention this visit because it had no bearing on the question he was discussing, his relation to the other apostles; but to pass over the visit in silence was to lay himself open to the charge, which his enemies would

have been only too ready to make, that he was hiding some facts. Again, it is said that Paul is alone concerned about his private conferences with the other apostles, while Luke cares only for the public action of the Church. But would Paul have been quite straightforward if he had kept silence about the public action which followed these private conferences, for in that public action there was some exercise of authority on the part of the Church in Jerusalem? To the writer a simpler solution seems to be that Paul did take advantage of his presence in Jerusalem with Barnabas, on the second visit, to secure as soon as possible a recognition of his independent apostolate to the Gentiles. As the bearer of a gift from a church consisting largely of uncircumcised members, he would be able to insist on the rights of the Gentiles to be exempt from the burden of the Jewish law. The case of Titus, probably a convert from Antioch, was a test case; and Paul firmly held his ground against the Judaisers. Freedom of the Gentiles from circumcision was conceded on one side; the obligation to help the Church in Jerusalem in its need was accepted on the other. The writer is quite aware that there are difficulties about this, as every other solution of this

problem; but there is one general consideration he desires to urge. It seems to him probable that the difficulty about circumcision would emerge not first of all after the first missionary tour, but as soon as the Gospel was preached to the Gentiles and they were admitted as members of the Church.

If we may, then, identify the visit described in Acts xi. 27–30 with that referred to in Gal. ii. 1–10, we may also assume that Paul's encounter with Çephas in Antioch (Gal. ii. 11–21) took place soon after the return of Paul and Barnabas. As entrusted with the gospel of the circumcision, Peter may not only have felt himself at liberty, but even under an obligation to go to Antioch to look after the Jews in the congregation there. If he was sent by the Church at Jerusalem to see that the compact was strictly observed, he at first did not prove himself the proper tool of Jewish exclusiveness. He was so far carried away by the spirit of Christian brotherhood in the Church that he freely associated and even "did eat with the Gentiles." Did reports come to Jerusalem which led James to send some representatives of the stricter Jewish tendency? These messengers from Jerusalem had influence enough to lead not only Peter, but even

Barnabas, with other Jews, to change their practice. The Church was divided, the Jews holding aloof from the Gentiles. Paul boldly rebuked Peter. He asserted that as salvation was not by works of the law but by faith in Christ, even the Christian Jew must not so insist on the observance of the law as, by withholding his Christian fellowship from his Gentile fellow-believer, to bring pressure upon him to conform thereto. Peter thoroughly learned the lesson; for surely his speech at the assembly in Jerusalem, recorded in Acts xv., is an echo of Paul's confession. "We believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus in like manner as they" (ver. 11).

There are two objections which may be advanced against placing this incident at so early a date. It may be argued that the doctrine here stated is too advanced, as it is akin to that expounded in Romans. But the difference of date is not so great as to allow for any marked theological development. Further, the writer holds that Paul's experience of the life in Christ began with his conversion, that the theological interpretation of that experience was far advanced in his meditations during his retirement in Arabia; and that here no conviction is asserted which Paul had not already reached at the date assigned.

A second objection is that we must assign an early date to the Epistle to the *Galatians*, prior to the Council in Jerusalem (Acts xv.); and scholars generally, owing to the resemblance, place it about the same time as *Romans*, or more than five years later than that event. But if Romans is an exposition of the Gospel Paul held right through his work as an apostle, and does not represent a merely temporary phase of his thinking, the resemblance is due not to nearness in time but to oneness of faith. Such an interval of time would explain satisfactorily the difference of tone between the two Epistles in dealing with the same doctrines. To place *Galatians* soon after Paul's return from his first missionary journey to Antioch, and prior to his going up to Jerusalem for the discussion of the problem, disposes satisfactorily of the difficulty which a later date involves—Paul's entire silence regarding the requirements imposed by the Church in Jerusalem on the Gentiles. If the question thus settled concerned only the Church at Antioch, as the record in Acts xv. 1, 2 would suggest, why did Paul, in passing through Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium, deliver "the decrees for to keep" (xvi. 4)? These churches had already been reached by the Judaisers; and the Epistle was a bold endeavour to avert the danger Paul saw in this movement.

Surely the tone of the letter accords well with the time "when Paul and Barnabas had no small dissensions and questionings with" the Judaisers in Antioch (Acts xv. 2). The early dating of the letter assumes the truth of the South-Galatian theory, which maintains that the churches addressed were founded on Paul's first missionary journey in the southern part of the Roman province of Galatia; and not on his second journey, when he passed through the northern part of the province, which was also racially, as well as politically, Galatian (the North-Galatian theory).

(2) **The First Missionary Journey** (Acts xiii. and xiv.).—The account of Paul's travels in Acts need not be reproduced in this sketch of his missionary labours; and only the points which require special explanation will be mentioned. When, under divine guidance, the Church at Antioch resolved on a missionary enterprise, Barnabas as the older disciple, and at this time the more influential servant of Christ in His Church, assumed the leadership, and it was probably he who decided that his own native Cyprus should be the first scene of labour. Before long Paul's greater ability and courage secured for him this leadership. It was at Paphos that Paul's Hebrew name was superseded by his Greek name

Paul, and that he came to the front. Whether it was this change or the new leader's decision to pass inland from Perga to Pamphylia that offended Mark or not, we cannot tell, but he withdrew from the enterprise. It has been conjectured that the first plan had been to visit the coast towns, but that an attack of malarial fever drove Paul from the low-lying coast-lands into the highlands of the interior, even although the journey across Mount Taurus into Southern Galatia was one full of perils "from rivers and from robbers" (II. Cor. xi. 26). The cities visited, Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra, were not in the old country of Galatia, but they were in the Roman province so named, and it is coming now to be generally agreed by scholars that it was to these churches that Paul's letter to the Galatians was addressed. He was in ill-health when he first visited them (Gal. iv. 13–14).

The method of the missionaries in the cities visited was the same. The synagogue of the Jews was visited on the Sabbath; the invitation of the rulers of the synagogue, who saw in the strangers Jewish scribes, to speak a word of exhortation was accepted. A proof of the Messiahship of Jesus was then offered. The devout Gentiles who were present at the service were usually

more impressed than the Jews themselves. The eagerness of the Gentiles to hear excited the jealousy of the unbelieving Jews, who used their influence to secure the expulsion of the missionaries from the city by mob-violence or the action of the city government. The sermon preached by Paul at Antioch in Pisidia may be taken as typical of the synagogue addresses. The speech of Paul at Lystra is an example of his mode of address to the Gentiles. Here a miracle so excited the superstitious populace that Paul and Barnabas were hailed as "gods in the likeness of men," and preparations were made for their worship. A rebuke of idolatry, and an appeal to recognise the one God who revealed Himself in His good gifts in nature, soon restrained this act. Persecuted in every city, they nevertheless succeeded in gathering together a Christian community, consisting mainly of Gentile believers; as after each failure to win the Jews they turned to the Gentiles, and preached to them as long as Jewish hostility would allow. Instead of passing out of Galatia into Cilicia, and so returning to Antioch, they revisited these churches, to strengthen and encourage the believers, and gave them a simple organisation under "elders," a title which does not prove that the synagogue was imitated, as this office

was not unknown in the political and social institutions of Asia Minor. On their return to Antioch they reported how "God had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles."

(3) **The Council at Jerusalem** (xv. 1–35).—Soon after the return of the missionaries they were faced by the demand of "certain men from Judæa" that even the Gentiles must be circumcised to secure salvation in Christ. The Church had acquiesced in the admission of the Gentiles so far, but probably it had been expected that these cases would remain exceptional, and that the Church would still be predominantly Jewish. The success of the mission of Paul and Barnabas excited the suspicion of the narrow Jewish section; and it was decided that even if the Gentiles came in in large numbers, the Church must retain its Jewish character. It has already been suggested that the Jewish propaganda was not confined to Antioch, but was carried to Galatia, and that it was in the heat of the controversy in Antioch that Paul wrote his letter to the Galatians to ward off the peril from his converts by asserting his independent authority as an apostle, and proving that submission to circumcision was an abandonment of the Gospel of justification by faith alone. Had the letter been written after the Council

at Jerusalem, at which the apostles recognised the freedom of the Gentiles, it would have been ungracious in Paul so to assert his independence. If the letter indicates Paul's mood at the time, we may conjecture that it was with reluctance, and only to preserve the Church from a disastrous schism, that he agreed to discuss the question with the apostles in Jerusalem. For, on the one hand, he was not prepared to recognise their superior authority; and on the other, he was too confident of the truth of his Gospel to acquiesce in any contradiction of it. Possibly his having been able on a previous visit to come to an understanding with some of the apostles (Gal. ii. 1–10) encouraged him to hope that the difficulty would be removed. Both Peter and James, though from different standpoints, asserted their influence to get a settlement of the difficulty. The demand for circumcision was repudiated, the mission of Barnabas and Paul commended, and only a few requirements were made of the Gentiles.

As regards these prohibitions, a few words of explanation are necessary. The phrase "from the pollutions of idols" is equivalent to "from things sacrificed to idols" (ver. 29). Paul's discussion of the question in I. Cor. viii. 1–13 and x. 23–33 shows that he did not

regard this decision of the Church at Jerusalem as binding on Corinth, but felt himself free to discuss it on the basis of the first principles of Christian liberty and charity. The association of the sin of *fornication* with these ceremonial restrictions may at first sight surprise; but we have only to remind ourselves that, with certain pagan worships, such as of Aphrodite and Cybele, immoral practices were closely connected, and that laxity in sexual relations was characteristic of heathen society, to see how necessary it was. Paul in his letters is also led to give the same exhortation. As the decision was intended to facilitate intercourse between Jews and Gentiles, the Jewish abstention "from things strangled and from blood," based on the belief that "the blood is the seat of life," is imposed on the Gentiles, so that a Jew may feel free to eat with a Gentile brother, without having his conscience wounded by the food that may be set before him.

Judas and Silas were sent with Barnabas and Paul to Antioch as the bearers of a letter conveying this decision; and the decrees were delivered to the churches in South Galatia (xvi. 4) as well as in Syria and Cilicia (xv. 23). The missionary enterprise was thus delivered from a destructive danger.

(4) **The Second Missionary Journey** (Acts xv. 36–xviii. 22).—A difference of opinion about the fitness and trustworthiness of Mark as a companion separated the fellow-workers Barnabas and Paul in the next effort to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. Barnabas with Mark went to Cyprus; Paul with Silas passed through Syria and Cilicia to Galatia. Mark's place was soon taken by Timothy, one of Paul's converts during his first visit to Lystra (I. Cor. iv. 17), a disciple very dear to the heart of his master. It was no concession to the Judaisers that Timothy was circumcised, as, though his father was a Greek, his mother was a Jewess, and he had been brought up in the Jewish faith (II. Tim. i. 5, iii. 15); and it was never Paul's intention to claim for the Jews exemption from the rite. Prophecy had pointed him out as fit for the task (I. Tim. i. 18), and at his ordination a special gift came to him for his calling (iv. 14), probably the "holy enthusiasm" so often mentioned in Acts.

It is probable that Paul meant to travel due west along the great road of commerce to the great city of Ephesus; but he was hindered by outward circumstances or inward impulse, which he regarded as the guidance of the Spirit. The meaning of Acts xvi. 6 has been

much disputed; without discussing the question, which the limits of this volume forbid, the writer must briefly state his own opinion, that one district is described in the phrase "the region of Phrygia and Galatia" (R.V.), and that Paul did not on this journey visit Galatia proper. Hedged in by the divine hand on the south and the north alike, the missionaries found their way to Troas, "an important seaport and Roman colony in Mysia," from which the coast of Macedonia was visible. Here Paul had a vision of "a man of Macedonia, standing, beseeching him, and saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us," and this Paul accepted as an intimation of the divine will (xvi. 9, 10). Can we explain this vision? The thoughts of the day give shape to the dreams of the night. In Tarsus, Paul had been brought into contact with Hellenic culture. Greece would be more than a name to him. Had his heart yearned, when he saw the other shore, to carry the Gospel hither also? As in the narrative in Acts at this point the first person "we" takes the place of the third person "they," a proof that the writer now became Paul's companion, Sir W. Ramsay suggests that Paul had met Luke the previous day, and that the vision was the result of the encounter, and possibly an entreaty Luke had addressed.

In Philippi, where there was no synagogue, but only a meeting-place by the river-side, where a few women gathered, public notice was called to the work of the missionaries by the cure of the possessed slave maid, and the charge brought by her masters against them before the magistrates of the city. Here for the first time we find Paul's appeal to his Roman citizenship against their illegal action. Although Paul and his companions complied with the request of the magistrates to leave the city so as to avoid further disturbances, a Christian community was left behind, a church afterwards very dear to Paul. Luke remained in Philippi, as "we" again becomes "they."

At Thessalonica the method and the result were the same as in the cities of South Galatia: an appeal to the Jews in the synagogue is met with unbelief; a ministry is exercised among the Gentiles until persecution is stirred up by the unbelieving Jews. I. Thessalonians assumes that a much longer time for work among the Gentiles was enjoyed than the narrative in Acts indicates. The converts were exposed to manifold severe persecutions, but remained steadfast (ii. 14). Paul had to support himself by his trade, "working night and day" while preaching the Gospel (ver. 9). Driven by

the Jewish hostility to *Beræa*, Paul had but entered on a more promising ministry there, when the Jews of Thessalonica sent their messengers to stir up disorder. As the object of more vehement hostility than his companions, Paul alone was led to the seashore, probably quite undecided as to where he would go next, while they remained behind to continue the work. The fact that there was a boat available decided him to go to Athens; and it is proof of his affectionate disposition that he felt his need of companions, and desired Silas and Timothy to join him there. While he was thus waiting for them he could not undertake any work, for his heart was too full of tender care for the Church in Thessalonica for him to give his labours to any other place (I. Thess. ii. 7; *cf.* II. Cor. ii. 12, 13). He robbed himself of the much-longed-for companionship of Timothy to send him to Thessalonica (iii. 1, 2). How genuine a Jew Paul was is shown by the impression Athens made on him. His surroundings, instead of awakening the glorious memories of the past, roused his anger against the prevailing idolatry. He could not refrain from discussions in the market-place, in which he encountered representatives of the two dominant philosophical schools, the Stoic and the Epicurean.

Although he excited their scorn, and was mocked with the epithet "a picker up of trifles" (what we should now call a quack), he was asked to make a fuller statement in a quieter place. It is uncertain whether he went to Mars Hill (the Areopagus), or was summoned before the court so named to prove his fitness to discuss such matters. His speech is an example of his endeavour to be "all things to all men." He tried to appeal to a cultured audience by allusions to literature and philosophy; but in vain. The mere mention of so unfamiliar an idea as the resurrection was enough to break the attention and to provoke the contempt of most of his hearers, only a few having their curiosity aroused. While the reference to the resurrection would provoke the Epicureans, the recognition of the truth of Stoic views failed to secure their support. Paul seems to have felt the failure; and to have resolved that, instead of seeking to win the reason by argument, he would henceforth move the conscience by preaching Christ Crucified (I. Cor. ii. 1–5).

The city in which he carried out this resolve—Corinth—was one of the most important and also infamous cities of the ancient world. Although Luke tells us very little about the ministry, lasting eighteen months, Paul's two

letters to the Church here show how much his work now meant to him and cost him. He supported himself with the labours of his hands, having as his fellow-worker Aquila, a Jew of Pontus, who had been expelled from Rome under a decree of Claudius, issued, according to Suetonius, as a punishment for the riotous conduct of the Jews under the instigation of Chrestus. (This is supposed to be a mistake on the part of the Roman historian; the disputes were whether Jesus was the Christ or not.) Aquila's wife Priscilla is by Dr. Hort regarded as "a member of a distinguished Roman family," who lost caste because of her marriage to a Jew, but afterwards gained a high position in the Roman Church. Dr. Harnack assigns to her the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Both husband and wife were among Paul's most valued friends and helpers (Rom. xvi. 3, 4).

Until Silas and Timothy joined him, Paul was tormented by his fears regarding the Church at Thessalonica, but he was relieved when Timothy assured him of the constancy of the converts (I. Thess. iii. 7, 8). *I. Thessalonians* was written not long after to give the persecuted Church the comfort and assurance which it needed, and he had desired to give in person (ii 7. 8). Here Paul teaches

that the believers who die before the Second Advent will not be at any disadvantage, as they will be raised first, and, along with the living, be caught up to meet the Lord in the air (iv. 16, 17). The prominence of the subject of the Second Advent in this letter, and the absence of the more distinctive Pauline Gospel found in *Galatians* and *Romans*, are probably due to the special condition and temporary necessities of the Church. Not many months later *II. Thessalonians* was written to remove difficulties caused by the first Epistle, and to correct teaching which was being given with a claim to possess the Apostle's authority (II. Thess. ii. 2). He here expresses the view that the Second Advent cannot be immediate, but must be preceded by a certain course of events: till the restraint of the Roman Empire is removed, Judaism cannot reach its full apostasy.

In Corinth, as elsewhere, Paul had to turn from the Jews to the Gentiles. He won many converts among the lower classes (I. Cor. i. 26). So keen was the hate of the Jews that Paul nearly lost heart, and needed the encouragement given him in a vision of the night. An attempt on the part of the Jews to invoke the Roman law against Paul failed, owing to the fairness of the Roman official Gallio; and was followed by an outbreak

of violence by the Greeks against the Jews, which Gallio viewed with contemptuous indifference. Paul was able to stay a little longer; when he left, it was to hasten to Jerusalem to be present at one of the feasts. At Cenchreæ, the port of Corinth, he had his head shorn, for "he had a vow." Why did Paul follow this Jewish custom? and, What reason had he for so doing? Luke gives us no word of explanation.

(5) **The Third Missionary Journey** (Acts xviii. 23–xxi. 16).—Paul began his third missionary journey by revisiting the churches in South Galatia; but pushed westward to keep his promise to revisit Ephesus, where his coming had been prepared for not only by the labours of Priscilla and Aquila, but also by the eloquent, learned, and persuasive preaching of Apollos, a Jew from Alexandria, who may have been a disciple of Philo, the greatest Jewish teacher of that age, who had accepted the testimony of John regarding Jesus, and had confessed his faith in baptism, but who had not yet entered into the fuller experience of the Christian Church in the presence of the Risen Lord and the working of His Holy Spirit. This Priscilla and Aquila now imparted to him; and departing to Corinth, he there powerfully showed Christ's Messiahship. In somewhat

similar a position were the disciples whom Paul found in Ephesus, who had not experienced the gift of the Holy Spirit, and did not even know it had been given. After an explanation of the difference between the baptism of John and baptism in the name of Jesus, they were baptized, and on Paul's laying his hands upon them, showed the new inspiration.

After three months in the synagogue, Paul entered on a ministry among the Gentiles which lasted two years. As Ephesus was the most important city in the province of Asia, in active and constant intercourse with all the inland towns, it became a centre of widespread Christian preaching. Probably at this time the churches at Colossæ, Hierapolis, and Laodicea, of which we afterwards hear, and others also were founded (I. Cor. xvi. 19).

Paul's exercise of his power of healing to a wider extent than seems to have been his usual custom (*cf.* Rom. xv. 19 and II. Cor. xii. 12) attracted general attention to his Gospel; but we must surely regard the statement in Acts xix. 12 as reflecting the popular credulity, as it is difficult to believe that Paul would encourage such magical practices. An attempt of Jewish exorcists to use the name of Jesus resulted in

their discomfiture; and so deep an impression was made by this event, that many books containing magical formulæ were publicly burned (the value, Luke is careful to note, was £1980). In this way, too, the influence of the Gospel was increased; and so great were the results of Paul's ministry that the trades which prospered by the abounding idolatry of the city began to feel themselves hard hit. Demetrius stirred up his fellow-tradesmen, the makers of silver images of Diana, which the worshippers at her temple bought as a remembrance of their visit. Business interest was skilfully disguised as religious zeal, and an outbreak of popular fanaticism was provoked, which the secretary of the municipal council of Ephesus required all his skill in argument and warning to restrain. Paul wanted to face the mob, but was dissuaded by the Asiarchs, "the officials appointed by the different cities of the province of Asia to superintend the temples erected in honour of the Roman Emperor, and the Imperial games." Probably this is only one instance of the persecutions he endured in Ephesus (I. Cor. iv. 11–13, xv. 32). But on this occasion the peril seems to have been so great that he delayed no longer, and started on his journey into Macedonia.

Luke gives us a brief indication of Paul's plans while in Ephesus. He intended to travel through Macedonia and Achaia, and then go up again to Jerusalem. In his next journey he looked forward to reaching Rome. He sent Timothy and Erastus to prepare for his coming, but himself remained a little longer in Asia. We must turn to the two *Epistles to the Corinthians* to supplement the story in Acts. The reconstruction of the history must be admitted to be conjectural; but to the writer it seems fully sustained by the available evidence. Paul in I. Cor. v. 9 refers to a previous epistle. A fragment of this epistle is probably preserved in II. Cor. vi. 14–vii. 1, a passage which interrupts the context in which Paul is dealing with his personal relations to his converts, by a stern warning against association with unbelievers and their idolatry and immorality. His warning had been regarded as unpractical, and so Paul modifies it in so far as to admit that the Christians need not judge those without as regards their morals, but should preserve a high standard within the Church. Receiving unfavourable reports, but unable at once to visit Corinth himself, he sent Timothy (I. Cor. iv. 17–19) to put them in remembrance of his ways in Christ. A letter reached him from Corinth, containing a number

of questions regarding the moral practices and the social relations of the converts, in regard to which there was acute difference of opinion; and from the bearers of the letter he heard with grief and anger of party spirit, moral laxity, disorders in worship. The letter which is generally known as *I. Corinthians*, although it is not Paul's first letter, contains a full answer to the questions, and a bold treatment of the situation in Corinth. He here expresses his intention to pass through Macedonia to Corinth in order to receive the collection which the Gentile churches were making for the poor in Jerusalem, to remain some time in Corinth, it may be even to winter there; but this journey he cannot undertake till Pentecost, for in Ephesus "a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries" (xvi. 8, 9). He commends Timothy, who has already started for Corinth, to their respect. The letter was possibly sent by the hand of Titus. Further news from Corinth was of so grave a character, however, that Paul paid a brief visit to it, probably taking the shorter sea-voyage. In II. Cor. xii. 14, and xiii. 1, he speaks of his approaching visit, which on the common view was only his second, as "the third time." During this visit he promised them two further visits (II. Cor. i. 15, 16).

Either he was insulted while in Corinth by one of the members of the Church, with the acquiescence of the other members, or more probably an insult was reported to him after his departure. The passage in II. Cor. ii. 5–11 cannot possibly refer to the moral offender denounced in I. Cor. v. 1–8, for Paul could write as he does there only of some personal injury. He was by his grief brought nigh unto death (II. Cor. i. 8–9). He wrote a letter to the Church "out of much affliction and anguish of heart," "with many tears" (ii. 4), and despatched it by Titus, who seems to have been a stronger personality than Timothy, and better able to handle a difficult situation. Some scholars maintain that part of this letter is preserved in II. Cor. xii.–xiii. 10, as the tone of these chapters is far more severe than that of the rest of the letter, and altogether corresponds with the description Paul himself gave of the letter he had sent. The other explanation, that Paul here turns from the now friendly majority to the still hostile minority is not so satisfactory. He also changed his mind about going by sea to Corinth on his way to Macedonia, and decided to travel by the longer route through Macedonia, so that he might hear the results of the letter and Titus' action. The tide of feeling

in Corinth was thoroughly turned. Although Paul left Ephesus in great distress of mind, and could not avail himself of the opportunity of preaching the Gospel in Troas, because he had not then met Titus, and so there was no relief for his spirit, yet when Titus at last met him in Macedonia the report was so favourable that he at once wrote *II. Corinthians* to express his gratitude, and to complete his reconciliation with the Church (ii. 12–14, vii. 14–16, ix. 15). This letter is one of the most touching "human documents"; for in it Paul lays bare his heart.

After passing through Macedonia and Achaia, Paul came to Corinth, where he spent three months. There he wrote the *Epistle to the Romans*, in which he has more clearly, fully, and calmly set forth his Gospel than in any other writing. It was not composed as a theological treatise, but as a genuine letter. His friends Priscilla and Aquila were in Rome; and probably he was answering their questions to enable them to deal effectively with difficulties advanced against his Gospel in Rome. As his aspiration was still to carry the Gospel to Rome, he wrote to secure for himself a welcome there; for in Rome he would not be the pioneer missionary founding the church, but

one, hitherto a stranger, offering a spiritual gift to a church already founded.

A plot of the Jews to kill him forced him to give up his plan to leave Corinth by sea; and travelling northward to Macedonia, he secured the collection which he had been so zealous in commending for the poor in Jerusalem; but, to disarm suspicion, he insisted on a delegate from each church accompanying him to Jerusalem. At Troas, Luke rejoined Paul, and the "we" passages begin again. It is probable that the youth Eutychus, whom Luke represents as restored to life, had only fallen into a swoon, and that Paul's words, "Make ye no ado, for his life is in him," are a simple recognition of the fact. Paul's farewell address to the elders of the Church of Ephesus at Miletus may be taken as an example of his relations to the leaders of the churches he had founded. His own foreboding that he would never see these elders again was confirmed by the warning "through the Spirit" given by the disciples at Tyre, and the symbolic action of Agabus the prophet at Cæsarea. But the sorrowing entreaties of the brethren could not turn Paul from his purpose; for he was prepared "not to be bound only, but

even to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus." With the entry into Jerusalem, Paul the missionary begins to be Paul the martyr.

Why did Paul insist on going to Jerusalem? As his letters show, in Galatia and in Corinth, and later in Philippi, his Gospel was being attacked, and his apostolate was being challenged by Judaisers, who could with some reason pretend that their standpoint had the sympathy of the Church in Jerusalem. No purpose was so dear to Paul's heart as the unity of the Christian Church, the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile. He attached a sacrificial significance to the offerings of the Gentile churches which he was taking up to Jerusalem. Although he knew full well how great was the risk he ran from Jewish hate, yet, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, he felt bound to present this offering in person. He was ready, if need be, to seal with his blood the covenant of brotherly love between Jew and Gentile. His plans as a missionary were not yet accomplished, for he hoped to visit Rome, and then Spain (Rom. xv. 28); but as he drew nearer and nearer to Jerusalem, one thing alone seemed to be left for him to do—to die for the unity of Christ's Church and the glory of His Name.

CHAPTER IV

PAUL THE BUILDER

By his preaching Paul sought not only to win individual converts, but to found Christian communities. Fellowship was essential for the life and labours of the converts, and to secure that fellowship some organisation was necessary. Paul was not only a fervent preacher and deep thinker, he was also a skilful organiser; and in his organisation he was guided by large and lofty principles. He was a wise master-builder on the one foundation, Jesus Christ, of the temple of God, the habitation of His Spirit.

(1) **Paul's Conception of the Church.**—We must first of all understand his conception of the Church. Wherever a number of converts were united for their common worship, witness, and work, there Paul saw the Church of God. The Church in Corinth is described as a body, complete, because possessed,

controlled, and endowed with diverse gifts by "the same Spirit" (I. Cor. xii.). Thus he regarded each local congregation as a complete Church. But he did not think of these churches as isolated from or independent of one another. The whole body of believers on earth is thought of as one church in such passages as I. Cor. xii. 28, in which are mentioned ministers who did not confine their labours to the local congregation, but travelled from church to church; and xv. 9, "I persecuted the church of God" (no local limitation is mentioned; *cf.* Gal. i. 13). There seems to be a third sense in which Paul uses the term church. In the later Epistles of *Colossians* and *Ephesians* it is not the empirical reality he is thinking of, but rather the spiritual ideal, for he speaks of the Church as the body of Christ, the fulfilment or complement of Him that filleth all in all (Col. i. 18, 24; Eph. i. 23). In building on earth Paul had before him the pattern laid up in heaven.

(2) **The Local Organisations.**—In the South Galatian churches Paul appointed "elders in every church" (Acts xiv. 23), and when Timothy was set apart as Paul's companion, it was by "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery" (I. Tim. iv. 14). In Ephesus there were

elders (Acts xx. 17), and their work of oversight is described in Paul's exhortation (ver. 28). In Philippi there were *bishops* and *deacons* (Phil. i. 1). It is generally held that the terms elder and bishop are synonymous, and that the elders or bishops taught and administered the affairs of the church generally, while the deacons looked after the alms. The Thessalonians are exhorted "to know them that labour among you and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you, and to esteem them exceeding highly in love for their work's sake" (I. Thess. v. 12, 13). In I. and II. Cor. there is no allusion to any officers in the church, and the whole body of believers is addressed in the demand for the exercises of discipline (I. Cor. v. 4). The Pastoral Epistles indicate a firmer organisation under bishops or elders and deacons (I. Tim. iii. 1–13; Titus i. 5–9).

But we should quite misunderstand Paul if we supposed that he had in view an external official authority. His standpoint is indicated in I. Cor. xii. and Rom. xii. The Church is endowed by the same Spirit with diversities of gifts, which include not only wisdom, knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, workings of miracles, discerning of spirits, divers kinds of tongues, the interpretation of tongues (I. Cor. xii. 8, 9), but also

helps and governments (ver. 28). All these gifts are to be exercised for the common good in the more excellent way of love (ver. 31). Prophecy, ministry, teaching, exhorting, ruling, are a grace to be used even as giving or showing mercy; and in the exercise of each love is to be without hypocrisy (Rom. xii. 6–9). While local conditions may have determined the simple form of organisation, it is on the inspiration of each member, and his use of the gift so given by the Spirit for the benefit of the whole body, that the witness, worship, and work of each church depend.

(3) **The Ministers of the Whole Church.**—Some of these gifts were not exercised in one church only. The apostles, prophets, teachers, belonged to all the churches, and travelled from one to the other. Paul attached very great importance to his apostleship. The Judaisers sought to get rid of his Gospel of free grace without the works of the law by challenging his authority and undermining his influence as an apostle. He claimed to be an apostle "not from man, neither through man but through Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead" (Gal. i. 1). His Gospel he had not received from man, nor had he been taught it, but "through revelation of Jesus Christ," God's So

in him (ver. 12). He sought no conference with flesh and blood, not even with the apostles that were before him (16, 17). When he did meet the apostles, they imparted nothing to him; but recognised that as Peter had been entrusted with the Gospel of the circumcision, so he with the Gospel of the uncircumcision (ii. 6, 7). He was called to preach to the Gentiles. When his apostleship is challenged, he appeals to three evidences of it. He has seen Jesus, and so can be a witness of the resurrection (I. Cor. ix. 1; *cf.* xv. 8, 9). God has given the seals of his apostleship in his converts. "Are not ye my work in the Lord?" (ix. 1; *cf.* II. Cor. iii. 1–4). All the signs of an apostle were wrought in him in "all patience, by signs and wonders and mighty works" (xii. 12). His sorrows, hardships, perils, and persecutions are proof also that he is more than any other the minister of Christ (xi. 23–29). His claim, above all, is that he is one with Christ in suffering for the Church. "From henceforth let no man trouble me; for I bear branded on my body the marks of Jesus" (Gal. vi. 17). The authority of the apostle is not official; it is personal, relation to God in Christ.

(4) **The Unity of the Church.**—Paul insisted on his

independence as an apostle, his authority as such in the Gentile churches; but while he did this for the sake of his Gospel, he did not desire to endanger the unity of the Christian Church. Hence he consented to the conference with the Church in Jerusalem regarding the demand of the Judaisers, that even Gentiles must be circumcised (Acts xv.). Had the decision been other than it was, we may venture to believe that Paul would have acted firmly and boldly as he did in the case of Titus. He would have given place "in the way of subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue" (Gal. ii. 5). As the principle of the liberty of the Gentiles was conceded, he accepted the restriction on that liberty in the interests of the unity of Jew and Gentile in the Church, even as he advised the "strong" in the Church in Corinth and Rome to respect the scruples of the "weak" (I. Cor. viii., Rom. xiv.). He delivered "the decrees for to keep which had been ordained of the apostles and elders that were at Jerusalem" in the churches of Syria, Cilicia, and Galatia; but, as the passages just referred to show, he felt himself at liberty in other churches to discuss the question of food afresh, without any reference to these decrees. Not by the submission to the Church in

Jerusalem of the churches of the Gentiles did he seek unity. The collection for the saints in Jerusalem, which he appointed in all the Gentile churches, was the gift of love by which he aimed and hoped to overcome estrangement, and keep peace. It was not a tribute which could be exacted in compensation for a concession made. But in this giving and receiving, Paul hoped to keep unbroken the Christian fellowship of Jew and Gentile.

(5) **Paul's Service to the Unity.**—In the Gentile churches which Paul himself founded, the unity was maintained first and most of all by the Apostle's own visits, by the letters that he wrote, and by the messengers, his younger companions in travel, such as Titus and Timothy, whom he entrusted with special tasks according to the needs and dangers of the churches. How much Paul himself meant to these churches! In his busy brain and loving heart these churches had a unity of thought and life such as no creed or polity could have conferred. He lived for his converts, and he lived in them. Anxiety for all the churches daily pressed on him. "Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I burn not?" (II. Cor. xi. 28, 29). Was a Church threatened by

error? He was ready to expound the corrective truth. Was it endangered by moral laxity? He could administer the necessary rebuke. Were problems of moral conduct and social relations in dispute? He could bring to bear on them a conscience enlightened by the Spirit of God. If we consider, on the one hand, the religious superstition and moral depravity from which many of the members of these churches had been delivered at their conversion, and, on the other, the spiritual liberty to which in Christ they were called, we can realise how hard the task, and heavy the trust, of the man who sought, without the bondage of the letter in the freedom of the Spirit, to guide and guard their steps along the path of Christian progress in truth and grace. Doubtless there were other labourers in the field of the Lord, living bonds between the Christian churches; but it can be said confidently that not only did Paul conceive the ideal of the Christian Church more clearly, but he did far more than any other to make that ideal a reality. As he thought of each local congregation as a body, the members of which had varied gifts and duties corresponding to the gifts, so did he think of all the churches as one body, through frequent, sympathetic, and helpful intercourse

by persons, letters, and gifts, nourishing a common life.

(6) **The Ideal of the Church.** — In the *Captivity Epistles*, when he was a prisoner in bonds, because, for the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile, he had risked even life itself to bring the offerings of the Gentiles to Jerusalem, the thought of the Church which dominates him is that of a society in which the antagonism of Jew and Gentile has been reconciled in the reconciliation of both to God (Eph. ii. 11–22). The foundation is the apostles and the prophets, Christ is "the chief corner stone, in whom each several building, fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord, for a habitation of God in the Spirit." If, as contemporary literature enables us to do, we realise the exclusiveness of the Jew on the one hand, and the contempt for and aversion to him felt by the Gentiles on the other hand, we shall more fully recognise the greatness of the man who, himself born a Jew, trained a Pharisee, could rise to so large and lofty a conception of a reconciled humanity in Christ. It is the conception of the Church in these Epistles which influences the conception of Christ. A society in which all the old enmities of man and man are reconciled in one "access in one Spirit unto the

Father," cannot be less or other than the goal of the Creation itself; and He in whom that society has its Head, of whom it is the complement, is the end of God's will in this world (i. 9, 10). While this conception is made explicit in these letters, it was present and effective in the thought and feeling of Paul in all his labours and sorrows.

(7) **Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church.**—In regard to the worship of the Church, Paul does not lay down any hard and fast rules. He assumes that the gifts with which the members are endowed will be exercised by them in the public assembly. The principle of heavenly wisdom which he suggests is that all shall be used in the more excellent way of love. The principle of earthly prudence he lays down is, "Let all things be done decently and in order" (I. Cor. xii. 31, xiv. 40). The gifts are to be exercised, not to gratify individual vanity, but to edify the whole body. Accordingly, prophecy (inspired instruction), exhortation, reproof, are to be preferred to speaking in tongues (ecstatic utterances), as the former can be understood of all, and can do good to all, while the latter benefits only one. No ritual is presented; no officials are entrusted with control; the liberty of the Spirit is limited

only by the claims of love. He assumes that the Church will exercise discipline, where necessary, on its members. Regarding the man guilty of "fornication as is not even among the Gentiles," he gives his decision with authority. The Church, gathered together with the power of our Lord Jesus, is to "deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (I. Cor. v. 3–5). Paul believed that the solemn condemnation of the Church would be divinely ratified by the death of the offender; and that such judgment would be more merciful to his soul than his continuance, unpunished, in his sin. As regards the man who has insulted him, and for whose punishment he has made a demand in the letter sent with Titus, he pleads for mercy, now his authority in the Church has been re-established (II. Cor. ii. 6–7). Church discipline is not to be retributive justice, it is to be reformatory solicitude. Paul recognises the risk of zeal for purity becoming loveless severity, an advantage gained by Satan (ver. 11).

The Church must be guarded against error as well as sin. In his speech to the elders of Ephesus he foretold the entering into the church of grievous wolves, and the arising in the church of men "speaking perverse things,"

and urged them "to feed the church of God" (Acts xx. 28–30). They are to admonish, but it is to be in tender love, even as he admonished "with tears" (ver. 31). His controversy with the Judaisers shows that the tolerance of error, which is often due to ignorance of or indifference to the truth, was impossible to him; and that he held the conviction that there is a truth the Church must maintain and defend as well as commend.

In the *Pastoral Epistles*, in which the danger foreseen was already present, great importance is attached to the fitness of the officers of the Church—bishops or elders and deacons—for their task. In Christian experience, in moral character, in family relations, in social reputation, each must be fully qualified (I. Tim. iii. 1–13; Titus i. 7–9). In the church of Ephesus, where Timothy was setting things in order when the first letter was addressed to him, there seems to have been an order of widows, who, supported by the church, were expected to render some service to the church; and great care in the selection of these is insisted on by Paul (I. Tim. v. 3–16).

Paul maintained the right of the ministers of the Church to support (v. 17). For himself he made the same claim (I. Cor. ix. 4–6). The arguments with

which this claim is enforced may not all appeal to us as equally relevant; but Paul does make out a case. In practice, however, he did not insist on his rights. In Thessalonia he worked night and day that he might not be a burden (I. Thess. ii. 9). Of the church in Corinth he seeks pardon for not being a burden (II. Cor. xii. 13). In Ephesus he worked not only for himself, but also for his companions, and he commended his own example to the elders (Acts xx. 33–35). When he was sure that what was given for his support was a token of affection he was ready to receive it with abounding gratitude (Phil. iv. 10–19). He would not allow the support of the preachers of the Gospel to be a hindrance to its spread. To disarm suspicion of greed, to give proof of disinterestedness, he was prepared to spend himself even in hard manual toil.

(8) **The Sacraments of the Church.**—The preaching of the Gospel as the revelation of God to man was the essential function of the Church for Paul, as it was his personal vocation. The Church responded to the divine approach and appeal in its worship of praise and prayer. The sacrifice it brought was the personal consecration of its members to purity and service (Rom. xii.). The surrender of his own life he represented as the

pouring out of the drink-offering which accompanied the sacrifice of the Church's service (Phil. ii. 17).

But besides this sacrifice the Church had two ordinances, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the significance of which for Paul we must be careful fully to recognise. In one passage he seems to speak with depreciation of Baptism. "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel" (I. Cor. i. 17). But, on the other hand, he refers to the ordinance in such a way as to show that it was full of meaning for him. Baptism was "into the name of Christ" (*cf.* ver. 13, Acts xix. 5), or "into Christ" (Rom. vi. 3). To be "baptized into Christ" was to be "baptized into his death." And this means such a union of the believer with Christ as identifies his with Christ's experience in all essential features (ver. 4). In this the believer is not merely passive, but active; he wills this oneness with Christ. He "puts on Christ" (Gal. iii. 27). To put on Christ is to die unto sin, and to live unto God (Rom. vi. 10–11). We need not suppose that Paul thought of the ordinance itself as mysteriously or magically bringing about this identification, as sacramentarians do; nor, on the contrary, are we entitled to assume that for Paul the experience is altogether independent of the ordinance. In his state-

ment there is personal remembrance. It was when he was baptized that he was filled with the Holy Ghost (Acts ix. 17–19). He distinguished the baptism to repentance of John from the baptism "into the name of the Lord Jesus," and required the twelve men in Ephesus who knew the former to receive the latter. When they were baptized "Paul laid his hands upon them, and the Holy Ghost came on them" (xix. 1–7). We may explain it by the Oriental love of symbolism if we will; but it is certain that for Paul, as for the whole Apostolic Church, baptism was not merely a symbol, but even a vehicle of divine grace separating from sin and consecrating unto God. The probability is that the subjectivism of evangelical Protestantism to-day is likely to do less than justice to the objectivity of Paul's thinking. In baptism God did something in and for man's renewal. That this change was not, and could not be, wrought apart from the preaching of the Gospel on the one hand and the faith of man on the other, Paul's work and teaching fully prove.

Paul alludes, without either sanction or objection, to one custom—the baptizing of the living on behalf of (ὑπέρ) those who had died without baptism (I. Cor. xv. 29, 30)—which does involve, if it was really meant to secure for

the dead their union with Christ, what we cannot but consider superstitious belief in regard to the efficacy of the ordinance. Possibly, however, in this case the ordinance was declaratory of the faith of the living that their dead had fallen asleep in Christ, even although they had not yet submitted to the ordinance which expressed this union. If the dead were altogether without faith, it seems incredible that any saving efficacy on their behalf could have been ascribed to this ordinance by the Apostolic Church; but if they died in faith without the full confession of faith which baptism indicated, we can understand how the belief would arise that the process of union with Christ so begun could be completed for them by this vicarious act. We cannot say confidently what view of the custom Paul held.

That Paul regarded the form of baptism as a significant representation of the death, the burial, and the resurrection of Christ, and that therefore immersion is more expressive of the meaning of the ordinance than aspersion, is a view which is not warranted by his words. In how figurative a way Paul uses the symbol is borne out by I. Cor. x. 2: "All were baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea." The Christian Church grew by the admission of households as well as individuals (Acts xi.

14, xvii. 5, xvi. 33, xviii. 8). We have no evidence that children were included in the numbers baptized, nor have we proof that each person so baptized clearly and fully recognised all the ordinance signified. The faith of the head of the household doubtless potently influenced all the members, although in many cases their faith must have been little more than a promise. As regards the children born of Christian parents, and bred in Christian homes, Paul did teach that they are "holy" (ἅγια, I. Cor. vii. 14). By this he must have meant at least that they were set apart for God, the grace of God being mediated to them by Christian heredity and environment. A Christian husband or a Christian wife can in the same way sanctify—that is, be a means of grace to—a heathen partner. Paul's counsel to Christian fathers (Eph. vi. 4) assumes that the children were in a relation of grace to Christ. So also his counsel to children takes for granted that their desire is to please Christ (Col. iii. 20). He recognises that the family has a function in the kingdom of God; and that in the Christian home the Christian Church exercises its purifying and sanctifying influence. There is no evidence, however, that this led him to face the question whether the ordinance of baptism should be administered in infancy to those who, by their heredity and environment

alike, were being thus influenced by and attached to Christ, as well as to those who turned from sin unto God.

In I. Cor. xi. 23–25 we have the earliest account of the institution of the Lord's Supper. From this it is clear that Paul did not identify the bread and the wine with the body and the blood of Christ. The form of words even forbids the conclusion. The cup is not said to be the blood of Christ, but "the new covenant in His blood." Further, this is done, not to partake of Christ, but "in remembrance of Him," and to proclaim His death. The ordinance is commemoration and testimony. But in this remembrance and declaration Paul does hold that the communicant does enter into very intimate relation with Christ Himself (x. 16). That we must not take the words literally as identifying the elements with Christ is shown by the use of the same imagery to express the unity of believers (ver. 17). As real as is this communion with Christ, so real, in Paul's belief, is the communion with devils of those who take part in sacrifices to idols (ver. 21). This communion with Christ is also communion with fellow-believers; for they in Christ are "one bread, and one body." To partake of the Supper, as the Church in Corinth did, each man caring for

his own wants, heedless of the needs of others, some gratifying their greed, others even indulging in drunkenness, was to do dishonour to Christ, to be "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," to fail to discern His body in His Church. Paul held that this must bring judgment; and there seems to be little doubt that in xi. 30 he intends to connect disease and death in the Church with this offence as the divine punishment on it. We need not assume that Paul was so superstitious as to hold that the elements themselves had in them a magical efficacy; nevertheless his view proves how great was the sanctity that he assigned to the ordinance, when its unworthy observance might involve so serious consequences. It may be added that it is possible, as some scholars hold, that our interpretation of Paul's view of the sacraments insensibly tends to modernise them; that, trained as he had been, there was an efficacy for him in sacraments such as it is difficult for us now to conceive. There may have been an element of what we to-day regard as superstition in his belief; but on the whole it is better for us to credit him with the most spiritual and moral view that the words he uses allow. It is not likely that the man who said of the most sacred

rite of the religion in which he had been brought up, that "in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision; but faith working through love" (Gal. v. 6); who, recognising the gifts as the working of God's Holy Spirit, yet dared to show the more excellent way of love (I. Cor. xii. 31), would give to any outward ordinance, apart from its moral and religious influence, any significance or value. The sacraments for Paul had importance and efficacy only as the symbols, and probably also the vehicles, of divine grace, bringing the believer into closer communion with Christ, and so serving as the signs and seals of the unity of the Christian Church, the body of Christ, the habitation of God's Spirit, the tilled land, the building of God (I. Cor. iii. 9).

CHAPTER V

PAUL THE THEOLOGIAN

In dealing with Paul the theologian, we must distinguish what he brought with him from his Pharisaic Judaism (Chapter I.), and what he drew from his own Christian experience (Chapter II.); also the changes in belief due to his own personal development, and the modifications in the statements of his doctrine due to the errors against which he was contending, or to the needs of the converts to whom he was writing. Some interpreters find in Paul a progress in theological thought, and arrange his Epistles accordingly; but the writer does not share this opinion. While the expression and the emphasis of his beliefs was modified from time to time, he had thought out his Gospel soon after his conversion. A man over thirty years of age, as he was at his conversion, who had passed through severe moral struggles and deep religious experiences, who had at his command the intellectual resources of a

learned Jewish scribe, could not and would not rest long till he had adjusted his theological knowledge to the new point of view. The account of his experience in Gal. i. 11–17 shows him as a man who knew himself to be in possession of his distinctive Gospel from the beginning of his mission among the Gentiles; and it was because he had such a Gospel to preach that he felt his call so insistent. To take one instance, we have no proof that Paul abandoned his early belief in Christ's Second Coming, although he wavered in his hope of living till that time. Paul's confession in Rom. i. 16, 17 gives us the standpoint from which to treat his theology. It is salvation from God for man about which he is concerned. The questions we must try to answer are: Why does man need salvation? What is the salvation he needs? How does God bestow it? and How does man claim it? In answering these we shall fully state Paul's Gospel.

I. THE NEED OF SALVATION

What Christ did for Paul was to save him from sin, and that is what Paul declared Jew and Greek alike needed. But we may think of sin as it affects the man himself, or as it affects his relation to God.

For the moralist the first point of view is more important; for the theologian the second; the word *sin* as it is used in the Holy Scriptures and in Christian theology implies this reference to God. Man feels in himself sin's power; in his relation to God he feels sin's guilt. In the one case there is a bondage to be broken; in the other a judgment to be met, a penalty to be endured.

(1) **The Wrath of God.**—Paul believed that in the conscience of mankind there was a witness to the reality of guilt. Even among the heathens there was a sense of right and wrong, a fear of judgment, a self-accusing or self-excusing (Rom. i. 28, 32, ii. 14–16). The Jew's pride in the law was the condemnation of his breaches of the law (20–23). He held that there was a revelation of the wrath of God against sin (i. 18). The subjective sense of guilt in man corresponded to the objective fact of wrath in God. As all sinful, all men are under God's judgment (iii. 19), as sinful men are the enemies of God (Rom. v. 10, xi, 28); and this means not only that men oppose themselves to God, but that there is an antagonism in God to their sins. "The sons of disobedience" are necessarily "children of wrath" (Eph. ii. 2–3). Human disobedience incurs, and cannot but

incur, divine displeasure. While we must avoid thinking of the wrath of God as a passion, such as it is in man, we must take care not to empty the antagonism of the holiness of God to its contradiction and opposition of all personal emotional content. God feels His condemnation of evil. That there is divine judgment on sin, penalty falling on the guilty, Jesus Himself clearly taught; and this is confirmed both by the remorse felt by the sinner and by the consequences which, as human history shows, follow transgression. Paul's statement, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap" (Gal. vi. 7), in which the modern conception of cause and effect is applied to the relation between actions and their penalty or reward, is a representation more congenial to our mood; but Paul does not here think of an impersonal process, but of a personal action. "God is not mocked." If there is a retributive order in man's own nature and in human society, God wills it, and He wills as He thinks and feels, and so we get back to God's wrath as a reality.

(2) **The Flesh.**—As regards the *power* of sin, the classical passage for Paul's teaching is his confession of his own experience in Rom. vii. 7–25. Although after his conversion he was still tempted, and had to struggle

against evil (I. Cor. ix. 27), yet it was before his conversion that he experienced the inward division and conflict which in this passage he so vividly describes. He was a man divided against himself, and in conflict with himself. The lower self, the flesh, the sin in him, the law in his members, withstood, strove against, made helpless, the higher self, the mind, the inward man. In modern language, conscience and reason were opposed by appetite and passion. Although the law of God was approved, it was not obeyed. Paul's experience is typical; all serious, earnest men share it in greater or less degree. What is peculiar in his statement, and requires some explanation, is his use of the word *flesh*.

It is urged by some expositors that this is an instance of Greek dualism, that Paul thought the flesh as material substance inherently evil. But unless the evidence is conclusive, we should not ascribe to Paul any borrowing from Greek thought, if an idea can be explained either from his Rabbinic training or his Christian experience. Now in the Old Testament the term flesh is used of man as a creature, especially to emphasise his weakness apart from the Spirit of God conceived as power. The contrast between man as flesh and God as Spirit can easily pass over into a moral

contradiction between man's wilfulness and God's law. Distinction by an easy transition of thought becomes opposition. Thus Paul uses the term flesh to describe human nature in so far as that nature, disowning dependence on and refusing submission to God, has become "the seat and the vehicle of sin." Paul does not think of sinful acts as isolated from and independent of one another, but as the expression and exercise of a nature which has become in itself sinful (how, we shall afterwards inquire). The temptations from without find within man appetites, passions, desires, tempers, ambitions, that readily respond to them, and strongly reinforce them. As a serious Pharisee, and still more as a devout Christian, Paul was so intensely conscious of this indwelling and inworking sin, not as occasional but as permanent, that he invested the word flesh with this distinct meaning to interpret his experience. There are several positive considerations against the view that Paul regarded the flesh as material substance necessarily evil. On the one hand, the works of the flesh include "idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousies, wraths, factions, divisions, heresies, envyings," as well as "fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, drunkenness, and revellings" (Gal. v. 19–21). On the

other hand, the body may be consecrated unto God (I. Thess. v. 23; Rom. xii. 1; II. Cor. vii. 1).

(3) **Adam's Transgression.**—Paul's view of the flesh does not necessarily involve the doctrines of *original sin* and *total depravity* as these have been commonly understood in evangelical Protestantism. It is quite reconcilable with a scientific view of the development of the individual moral life, in which appetites and passions, contrary to conscience, get a start of it, and so have a hold before conscience seeks through the will to exercise control. In what Paul says about the *guilt* and the *power* of sin, he is not contradicting, but interpreting, human experience, even as, amid changed opinions, it is to-day. But the same claim cannot be put forward for Paul's view of the origin of sin in the human race. In the second chapter it was shown that the belief in the entrance of sin and its penalty—death—into the world through the transgression of Adam was common in the Jewish schools, and that Paul as a Pharisee held it before his conversion. It does not spring out of his personal experience, or belong to his distinctive Gospel. In dealing with the passage in which he states it (Rom. v. 12–21), we must avoid two mistakes. We must not suppose that Paul left unrelated his view of the flesh as

the seat and vehicle of sin, and his belief in Adam's fall. He had not two, but only one explanation of the beginning of sin. The flesh in each man is due to the sin of Adam. The tendency to sin is inherited. But we must avoid, on the other hand, the assumption that the explanation he offers of the entrance of sin into the world is the reason for his affirming the guilt and power of sin. He knew in himself both the guilt and power of sin; he saw both in men around him. We may reject his explanation without at all affecting our estimate of his Gospel. It is important to note the place that the passage has in the argument. Paul has already empirically, by an appeal to facts, proved the universality of sin (iii. 19, 20). He is not seeking even to explain the origin of sin; that is not necessary to his argument; and he could take the belief in the fall for granted. What he aims at proving is the efficacy of the reconciliation in Christ for all mankind; and the argument is this: if the sin of Adam had such efficacy as to bring sin and death on all men, much more, and by as much more as Christ is greater than Adam, will the grace of Christ have efficacy to bring righteousness and life to all.

His emphasis is on the *disobedience* of Adam in contrast with the *obedience* of Christ. This excludes an explana-

tion which has sometimes been offered of the other passage in which a contrast is also made between Adam and Christ (I. Cor. xv. 45–47). The description of Adam as *living soul* and *earthy* in contrast with Christ as *life-giving spirit* and *heavenly*, is not intended to be an explanation or extenuation of his offence, as though it were due to some defect of nature that he fell, for Paul desired to emphasise to the full his freedom and responsibility. But, further, the contrast here is not between Adam before his fall and Christ, but between Adam as head of the sinful, dying race, and Christ as risen, "the firstborn among many brethren." We have no ground for supposing Paul to have been so in advance of his age as to have thought of the primitive man as modern anthropology has taught us to think of him. Nor are we entitled to assign to him the extravagances of later dogmatists, who regarded Adam as dowered with every human excellence. Paul's explanation leaves the problem unsolved for us.

In this passage Paul regards death as the penalty of sin; now science teaches us to regard death as a natural necessity. Even as physical dissolution Paul would probably have explained death in the same way; but he is thinking of death as more than physical dissolution,

as having a moral and religious content. He thought of death as ending life's moral probation and ushering in God's judgment. Here science has no contradiction to offer. It is probable that in the life hereafter the moral consequences of this life, and these are God's judgment, will be experienced. It is probable that man will become more fully conscious of his relation to God, for his joy or to his shame. The dread and darkness with which a guilty conscience may invest death is a consequence of sin. So far we may recognise the truth of Paul's view.

There seems to be no doubt that Paul means to derive from Adam's sin not only the death but also the sin of all men; yet by a change in the structure of one of his sentences he makes his meaning doubtful. "So death passed unto all men, for that *all sinned*" (Rom. v. 12). This would seem to make the death of each man the penalty of his own sin; but Paul argues expressly that "sin is not imputed when there is no law," and that the generations until Moses "had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression" (verses 13 and 14). It is as related to Adam that all are said to have sinned. It is held by some theologians that it was as included physically in Adam, by others that it was as represented

morally by him, that the race may be said to have sinned in its head. The more probable explanation is that Paul thought of Adam's sin as the cause of human sinfulness; and the facts of heredity, even on a moderate estimate of the influence of this factor in human history, do give support to the view that descent from a sinful race does affect the individual life adversely, although Christian theologians on these themes of original sin and total depravity have gone much farther than the facts warrant.

There is one statement of Paul's regarding the sinfulness of the heathen world which at once seems to challenge contradiction, that is, his derivation of the moral corruption of heathenism from its idolatry (Rom. i. 23, 24, 28). He describes the connection as the divine punishment; but this is his Hebrew mode of speech. Putting it in our ways of thought, can we think of moral depravity as the necessary consequence of idolatry? We cannot regard all idolatry as a deliberate choice of the lower course in religion when a higher was possible, but must regard it as a stage in the evolution of religion. Nevertheless, the evolution need not be regarded as always progressive; it was sometimes retarded, sometimes misdirected by error and sin. There were

forms of polytheism morally pernicious. The mythology of Greece and Rome (Plato and Lucretius being witnesses) was often so immoral as to do moral injury. So far Paul may be justified in his view.

II. THE NATURE OF SALVATION

The salvation in Christ fully meets the need of man; the guilt of sin is removed by *the righteousness of God*, and the power of sin is broken by *the sanctification of man.* This deliverance involves two further consequences, as sinful man is under the yoke of the law, and the fear of death; and the Christian salvation brings *the end of the law*, and *the victory over death.* The Christian salvation is one; for the forgiveness of sin is also the motive, the promise, and the power of holiness. In the cancelling of the guilt of sin there is also the breaking of its power, for a distressed conscience means an impotent will; and a conscience loosed from its burden means a will freed from its bondage.

(1) **The Righteousness of God.**—What is meant by "the righteousness of God" in which the guilt of sin is removed? Without examining any of the definitions given by theologians, let us try to gather from Paul's use of the phrase what he meant by it. As "the

righteousness which is of faith" it is contrasted with "the righteousness which is of the law"; it is a gift received, not a payment earned (Rom. x. 5, 6). The Jews, "being ignorant of God's righteousness, and seeking to establish their own, did not subject themselves to the righteousness of God" (x. 3). Man does not achieve it for himself; he accepts it in submitting himself to God. Paul confesses of himself "not having a righteousness of mine own, even that which is of the law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith" (Phil. iii. 9). God is the source; Christ is the medium; faith, and not doing the works of the law, is the condition of receiving it in man. According to Rom. v. 17, the source is "the abundance of grace" in God, and the end "eternal life." This "righteousness of God" is revealed in contrast with, and for the removal of, the wrath of God. It is grace, conditioned by the wrath of God; saving man, not in contradiction to, but in conformity with, God's judgment on sin. While it is a gift, the relation which God Himself establishes with mankind in forgiving sin, it must not be disconnected from the Giver. Righteousness is an attribute of God (Rom. iii. 5); and the Old Testament so far anticipates the teaching of the New as to represent God's salvation of the people

as an exercise of His attribute of righteousness. "The Lord hath made known his salvation, his righteousness hath he openly showed in the sight of the nations" (Psalm xcviii. 2). Not in spite of the righteousness, but because of it, does God save. The moral perfection of God cannot but seek to restore man to moral perfection.

In this righteousness there is a judicial and even penal element. In order to display "his righteousness at this present season," God set forth Christ "to be a propitiation (or propitiatory) through faith, by his blood" (Rom. iii. 25). The reason why it was necessary that God's righteousness should be so revealed was twofold—(1) "because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime in the forbearance of God," and (2) "that he might himself be just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus." God had not in the past judged and punished sin, as it deserved, as His own character required it should be. God in the present must forgive sin in such a way as to put beyond doubt or question His attitude to sin. Christ in His Sacrifice shows God's judgment on, punishment of sin, even in forgiving the sin of those who have faith in Him. If God's generous dealings with men had left any ambiguity about God's character or purpose, that is now altogether removed. The word propitiatory

combines the grace and the wrath of God. We must beware of pressing the word, so as to think of God as propitiated with blood as the gods of the heathen were sometimes believed to be; but we do not do justice to Paul's meaning unless we understand that the judgment or punishment of sin is included in the redemption from sin in Christ.

This righteousness of God, penal or judicial as well as redemptive, is revealed in the Cross, which was the centre of Paul's thought (I. Cor. i. 18, ii. 2; Gal. vi. 14). He connects the Cross closely with man's sin. Christ "died for our sins" (I. Cor. xv. 3). He "died for all" (II. Cor. v. 15). He "gave himself for our sins" (Gal. i. 4). He was sent "*for sin*" (R.V., *as an offering for sin*, Rom. viii. 3). He "was delivered up for our trespasses" (iv. 25). God "delivered him up for us all" (viii. 32). If we cannot find in Paul the statement that Christ died *instead of us*, but *on account of* our sins, or *on behalf of us*, yet he does think of Christ as taking our lot as His own. He was sent in the likeness of sinful flesh (Rom. viii. 3), born under the law (Gal. iv. 4), made sin, that is, treated as a sinner (II. Cor. v. 21), and became a curse (Gal. iii. 13). (These passages will be more fully discussed in dealing with

the work of Christ.) While there was no quantitative equivalence between what He suffered and what we as sinners should suffer, while we may not regard His suffering as qualitatively the same, for the sinless cannot be held guilty, repent, or be punished as the sinful, yet Christ took on Himself by a voluntary identification of Himself with sinful mankind, not by any legal substitution, all the consequences of sin, which for the sinful are penal, but which He made redemptive.

If we ask, What purpose did Christ's passion serve? there can be no doubt of Paul's answer. In effecting man's salvation, Christ's sacrifice fulfilled, and more exceedingly fulfilled, the same end in God's moral order as the punishment of sinners would do. This conclusion may be justified by a closer examination of three words used by Paul, *propitiation or propitiatory* (Rom. iii. 25), *redemption* (Col. i. 14; I. Cor. i. 30), *reconciliation* (Rom. v. 10, 11; II. Cor. v. 18–20). As regards the first of these terms, it is doubtful whether the Greek word is a noun or an adjective; but it is more probably the latter. An allusion to the lid of the ark, as some scholars suppose, would have been too obscure; a reference to the sacrificial victim, even a human sacrifice, such as paganism was familiar with, is

not impossible; but this does not help our interpretation. The widest sense, such as the adjective allows, is to be preferred. It has already been indicated that the word implies a judicial or penal as well as a redemptive element in God's righteousness. If we press the question, how does Christ's passion reveal this element, God's judgment or punishment on sin, as well as His grace in forgiveness? Paul gives us no distinct answer. He was sure sin ought to be punished; he was sure that in Christ sin is forgiven; the punishment must be included in the forgiveness of sin in Christ. The efficacy of the Cross for God and man alike lies in the obedience of Christ, which has a value greater far than is necessary to compensate for the sin of Adam and the race. "Where sin abounded, grace did abound more exceedingly" (v. 20). His obedience was shown in His acceptance of all the consequences of sin. In this obedience in accepting the consequences of sin Christ approved, and asserted God's moral order in the world, which expresses His moral perfection, more fully and clearly than all the penalties mankind might endure. May we add that it does belong to moral perfection to assert itself in opposition to moral evil, and to demonstrate its inherent character in that opposition?

What further light does Paul's use of the word *redemption* give us? In Col. i. 14 it is explained as "the forgiveness of our sins." Redemption in I. Cor. i. 30 seems to combine the idea of "righteousness and sanctification." Christ redeems from "the law" (Gal. iv. 4), and from "the curse of the law" (iii. 13). The idea of a ransom is implied, as I. Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23 shows. "Ye were bought with a price." The word itself is used in I. Tim. ii. 6. An idea which is prominent in this connection must be noticed. What Christ thus bought belongs to Him (Titus ii. 14). To whom the ransom was paid Paul does not ask. He would never have answered, as one of the earliest theories of the Atonement did, to the devil. If on the Cross God sets forth Christ as propitiatory, then we may infer that somehow Paul would have thought of the ransom as rendered to God.

The *reconciliation* between God and man is for Paul mutual; the enmity of God to man, the wrath of God revealed against sin, is removed, as well as man's estrangement from God ended (Rom. v. 10, 11). Because God in Christ is reconciled, men are to become reconciled to God (II. Cor. v. 18–20). God's grace claims man's faith, so that the loving fellowship of God and man may be restored.

We can now briefly answer a question which has been much debated. Does *justification* mean *reckoning righteous* or *making righteous?* Scholars are agreed that the word means *reckoning righteous.* In Rom. iv. 5 this sense is clearly stated: "But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness." His teaching is this: God reckons as righteous, that is, treats as righteous, the ungodly (by His forgiveness he welcomes them to loving fellowship with Himself), because He counts as their righteousness their faith in Christ, especially His propitiatory death. But we cannot stop there without opening the door to many misconceptions. The way in which God *reckons righteous* also *makes righteous.* On the one hand, the object of faith, Christ in His death, so condemns sin and commends holiness, that personal relation to Him cannot but issue in repentance and consecration, renunciation of evil and dedication to God. On the other hand, the faith which is a personal relation to Christ becomes an ever closer union with Him, so that the believer is crucified and risen with Him, dies unto sin, and lives unto God. It is only if we forget the object and the nature of faith that the possibility of a *reckoning righteous* which does not necessarily

issue in a *making righteous* can be conceived. What is important in the distinction for which theologians have so warmly contended is this. God in free grace forgives men, not because they are good, or even because they will become good, but that He may make them good. Men do not earn their relationship to God in Christ; He bestows it, and in bestowing it He makes them worthy of it, as they never could make themselves. Forgiveness is the motive of holiness; justification leads on to sanctification.

(2) **The Sanctification of Man.**—The forgiveness of sin brings with it the assurance of deliverance from sin. He who knows himself reconciled to God by the death of His Son is sure that He will be saved by His life (Rom. v. 10). The sense of sonship (Gal. iii. 26, iv. 6) removes the feeling of helplessness and hopelessness which sin brings (Rom. vii. 24). This relief of conscience means recovery of will. But the way in which the forgiveness has come—the grace of Christ in His Cross—brings into the life a new motive. As has already been mentioned, the redeemed are bought with a price to be the possession of Him who gave Himself a ransom for them. This argument is most fully stated in II. Cor. v. 14–15: "The love of Christ constraineth

us; because we thus judge, that one died for all, therefore all died; and he died for all, that they which live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto him who for their sakes died and rose again." This does not mean bondage to a new law, but the freedom of service inspired by love, gratitude for grace. This new motive proved its efficacy in Paul, and is efficient wherever the grace is truly experienced and the gratitude is fully rendered.

This, however, is not the distinctive feature of Paul's experiences. Not his thankfulness only for what Christ had done for him made him a new man; but his abiding fellowship with the living Saviour and Lord. He not only says "the love of Christ constraineth me," but also "Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii. 20), and what he claims for himself he takes for granted in all believers. He assumes that no baptized believer can continue in sin that grace may abound, "because all were buried with him through baptism unto death," so that they "should be dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus" (Rom. vi. 1–11). This personal union with Christ involves the constant exercise of Christ's personal influence on the believer, so that he comes to be more and more conformed to Christ, crucified to

sin and risen to God with Him. As for Paul, it was not the earthly life of Jesus which was of primary significance and value (we may say this without maintaining that he was either ignorant of or indifferent to the facts of that life), but the death and rising again (I. Cor. xv. 3, 4), so the content of his communion with Christ is the Crucifixion and Resurrection. The meaning these events had was this. As Christ had so identified Himself with sinners as to suffer on His Cross the consequences of their sin, thus must believers so identify themselves with Christ as to feel toward sin as He did, to condemn and execute it in themselves. As Christ had risen from the dead to live henceforth to God, so must believers living one life with Him "walk in newness of life unto God." Man makes his own by an appropriating affection, by an identifying submission, both Christ's condemnation of sin and consecration to God. It is faith, receptive and responsive, to what Christ has done and now is, to His grace, that conforms the believer to Christ.

What appears at first sight an alternative explanation of man's sanctification, but on closer scrutiny is but a complementary, is found. Sanctification is ascribed to the Spirit (II. Thess. ii. 13). All the graces and virtues

of the Christian life are "fruits of the Spirit" (Gal. v. 19–23). The Christian walks, and is led, because he lives by the Spirit (v. 16, 18, 25), and this is the same as being "of Christ Jesus" and having "crucified the flesh with the passions and the lusts thereof." For the Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, and having the Spirit is the test of being Christ's (Rom. viii. 9). If in one passage Paul appears to identify the Lord and the Spirit (II. Cor. iii. 17, 18), yet he generally clearly distinguishes the one from the other (II. Cor. xiii. 14; I. Cor. xii. 4–6; Eph. iv. 4–6). The work of Christ and of the Spirit is one work, however; and the two ways of describing that one work may perhaps be thus explained. When Paul was fully conscious of a personal presence and a personal communion, he thought and spoke of the Lord; when this consciousness was less distinct, and yet he knew that whatever was good in him he owed to God, he thought and spoke of the Spirit.

(3) **The End of the Law.**—The righteousness of God by faith is opposed by Paul to the righteousness by the works of the law. As a Pharisee he had sought the latter; as a Christian he found the former. His vain pursuit of the one had hindered his ready acceptance of

the other. In his own experience there was an opposition of grace and law, faith and works. A peril threatening the Church compelled him to assert and to prove that Christ was the end of the law, that grace superseded works. In Antioch and in the churches in Syria and Cilicia the attempt was made to impose the law, especially circumcision, as a condition of salvation on the Gentiles (Acts xv. 1). Although the Church in Jerusalem granted the freedom of the Gentiles, yet the Judaisers busied themselves in Galatia, Philippi, Corinth, even Rome itself; and it was necessary for Paul to make clear the abolition of the Law by the Gospel.

Concerned with this concrete issue, Paul has the Mosaic Law in view even when he is dealing with the law generally; but his contention applies to law in the wider as well as in the narrower sense. It is the Jewish law he is thinking of when he speaks of the Gentiles as having no law (Rom. ii. 14), or of the non-imputation of sin in the absence of law (v. 13), or of the result of the law in his own experience (vii. 7). He recognises a moral law among the Gentiles (ii. 15). While what was immediately in dispute was part of the ceremonial law, yet Paul in his treatment no more distinguishes moral from ceremonial law than the Mosaic from any other law.

It is law as law that is superseded by Christ. Christian morality is not legal, but something far better.

As a Christian he kept his reverence for the law; even when he is proving that it has no longer any claim on the Christian, he recognises its divine origin and authority. As it comes from God, it is "spiritual," and all its demands are "holy, just, and good" (Rom. vii. 12–14). He warmly rejects the inference from his argument that the law is sin (ver. 7), and maintains that faith does not make the law of none effect, but establishes it (iii. 31). The law is not against the promises of God (Gal. iii. 21). Nevertheless his Pharisaic bondage to the law made it impossible for him to delight in the law, as some of the psalmists did, or to recognise fully its providential purpose in the history of the Hebrew nation, as we can to-day.

The place of the law is between the promise and its fulfilment; and it was given "because of transgressions," that is, either to restrain them or to provoke them. That the historical function was the former, who can doubt? That the result was the latter, Paul not only held but also that it was a result intended, as God desired that all things might be shut up under sin when the promise was fulfilled (Gal. iii. 19–22). "The law

came in beside" (Rom. v. 20) as an afterthought; it was a temporary and provisional, not permanent and final, revelation of God.

The promise, which is superior to the law, was given to Abraham, not for works of the law, but because his faith was reckoned to him for righteousness (Gal. iii. 5–8); it was given when he was still in uncircumcision (Rom. iv.). This promise "the law which came four hundred and thirty years after" (Gal. iii. 17) could not annul. However Rabbinic this argument is in form, its essential idea is that the legal relation between God and man is not so essential and permanent as that of grace. God is Father by His nature rather than Law-giver and Judge.

Between the legal relation and the gracious there was for Paul a necessary opposition. "If righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for nought" (Gal. ii. 21). To choose the one way is to turn from the other. Those who seek justification by the law are "severed from Christ, fallen away from grace" (v. 4). Because Paul had found Christ sufficient for holiness as well as forgiveness, he could not tolerate the authority of the law beside that of Christ.

But the law had proved itself ineffective both for

forgiveness and holiness. While the law brings "the knowledge of sin" (Rom. iii. 20), makes wrong known as such, it has no power to restrain, but rather provokes sin, for the commandment is like a challenge which sin is ever ready to accept (vii. 8, 9). This result shows the internal opposition of the law and sin; it exposes sin in its real character (ver. 13). The reason why this aggravation of sin is necessary is that a man, by discovering fully his need, may be ready to welcome the saving grace of God. "God hath shut up all unto disobedience that he might have mercy upon all" (Rom. xi. 32). The cause of this moral impotence of the law is that it is outer command and not inner constraint, letter and not spirit (II. Cor. iii. 3–6). The religious condition of the Jews showed that it could not secure the obedience even of those who most boasted its possession (Rom. ii. 23, 28, 29). The flesh was too strong an antagonist for the law to overcome; that was possible only to the grace of God in Christ (viii. 3–4).

There is much in this argument due on the one hand to Paul's peculiar experience in trying to keep the law as a Pharisee, and on the other to the special contention of the Judaisers; and all this must appear to us as

remote from our moral life. But there is here an interpretation of moral facts. When conscience awakens in the child, some of his wishes and acts are first recognised as wrong. Restraint does often provoke rebellion, unless there be adequate motive for obedience. A man is sometimes brought to a sense of his moral corruption by a fall into some gross form of sin; and self-discovery is the first step to self-recovery. Generally law does not come without some motive to obedience in addition to its rewards and punishments; and we must admit Paul's point of view is here altogether too abstract.

What the law had done was to make the transgressor so miserable as to make him desire deliverance (Rom. vii. 24), and to make him despair of finding that deliverance in the law (Gal. ii. 19). Paul here confidently generalises his own experience; but had the Galatians indeed found "the law hath been our tutor to bring us unto Christ" (iii. 24)? May not legal discipline at a particular stage of moral development be necessary as a preparation for evangelical freedom? This never presented itself as a possibility to Paul. As a son of God, baptized unto Christ (Gal. iii. 26, 27), crucified and risen with Christ (ii. 20), he was dead to the law, as were all Christians (Rom. vii. 4). This death to the

law was not moral licence, because in Christ the believer is first dead to sin. In his freedom he is under law to Christ (I. Cor. ix. 21), and as substituting this inward and effective authority and influence, making holy, "Christ is the end of the law" (Rom. x. 4), for He accomplishes the moral deliverance from the flesh which the law had failed to secure (Rom. viii. 3). This is not libertinism, but liberation. Paul was absolutely right in claiming the freedom of the Gentiles from the ceremonial law of Judaism (Col. ii. 16). Although in his polemic he may appear to be refusing the moral guidance the law could give to the individual conscience of the Gentile converts, really he does not. All standards of conduct that are good, true, worthy, Paul commends (Phil. iv. 8). His own letters are full of such moral guidance, and it is certain most of the churches were in such moral immaturity that without such guidance the liberty in the Spirit would have proved a danger. The absolute liberty Paul in his polemic claims is possible only to those who have made as absolute submission to Christ, as Paul assumes that the confession of Christ in baptism involved. Till such maturity is reached, the counsel and even command of those more advanced in the Christian life

will be not an infringement, but a protection of liberty in Christ, "the end of the law."

(4) **The Victory over Death.**—This element in the Christian salvation is much less prominent in Christian thought to-day than it was in the mind of Paul. The Christian view of death is commonly taken for granted, without a distinct recognition of its source in the grace of Christ. For Paul, and for the apostolic age generally, death was still too much of a darkness and a dread for the great debt to Christ, in bringing immortality and life to light in His Gospel, to be forgotten. Paul clothes this hope, as did all Christians of his age, in the eschatological beliefs of contemporary Judaism. Paul himself shrank from death (II. Cor. v. 1–4), and regarded it as the penalty of sin (Rom. v. 12), as its wages (vi. 23), or its harvest (Gal. vi. 7, 8). The deliverance he desired and hoped for was by resurrection—that is, the restoration of his whole personality, body, soul, and spirit; for he was a Hebrew, who regarded man as a living soul because God had breathed into the dust His spirit, and not a Greek, who thought of the body as the prison of the soul, and immortality as the soul's release from bondage.

Regarding the Resurrection two questions arise:

when and what it would be. According to the common belief of the Apostolic Church, shared by Paul, the Resurrection would at once follow the Second Advent, which was eagerly and almost instantly expected (I. Thess. v. 2). When some believers in Thessalonica died, Paul had to comfort their mourning friends with the assurance that the dead would not be at a disadvantage as compared with the living (iv. 15–17). He himself expected to be alive (I. Cor. xv. 51, 52) and to undergo the necessary change. Although he gave up this hope of survival (II. Cor. v. 6–8; Phil. i. 21–24), yet to the end the belief in the speedy Second Coming remained (Col. iii. 4; Phil. iv. 5). It was qualified by the recognition that a certain historical process must be previously completed. According to the "Pauline Apocalypse" (II. Thess. ii. 1–12), the full manifestation of the godlessness and wickedness of Judaism is being delayed by the restraint imposed by the Roman Empire; but at last "the man of sin, the son of perdition," probably a false Messiah, will appear, only to be destroyed by the true Messiah. This is an interpretation of contemporary events; Judaism was the persecutor, the Roman Empire the protector of the Christian Church; we need not look for a literal fulfilment of the prophecy.

We may think that the fall of Jerusalem was the judgment of Judaism, or we may admit that "the mills of God grind more slowly" than Paul expected, and that Christ's triumph over all opposition is not yet. That it will come is the essential Christian hope.

As regards the nature of the Resurrection, Paul does not teach the identity of the two bodies, but their contrast (I. Cor. xv. 42–44); they are related as crop and seed. God gives the new body as it pleases Him (ver. 38); it is not a body of flesh and blood (ver. 50); the living must be changed (ver. 52). Personal identity does not depend on the sameness of the body. In this speculation we need not assert Paul's infallibility; what belongs to Christian faith is that through death we enter on fuller life.

As some Christians died before the Second Advent, we should have expected Paul to face the question as to their condition until the Resurrection. He describes death as a *sleep* (I. Thess. iv. 14; I. Cor. xv. 6, 18, 20), but this figurative language justifies no theory of unconsciousness or semi-consciousness. When Paul was looking for his own death, he hoped for an immediate entrance on a better life with Christ (II. Cor. v. 6–8; Phil. i. 23). As at the Resurrection he expected the

vision of and communion with Christ to bring about a transformation into His likeness (I. Cor. xv. 49; Phil. iii. 21; II. Cor. iii. 18), so, had he thought out the question, he might perhaps have come to the conclusion that the saints who at death are with Christ are already risen with Him. He, however, left the question unanswered. Such is the answer Christian faith to-day might give.

After the Resurrection would come the judgment of all men by Christ (II. Cor. v. 9–10; Rom. xiv. 10). This is vividly described in the figure of buildings set on fire, in which wood, hay, stubble are consumed, but gold, silver, precious stones are preserved (I. Cor. iii. 12–15). Another image used is that of sowing and reaping (Gal. vi. 7, 8). These two images would suggest that the results of sin are God's judgment on it. Carrying this thought further, as Paul himself did not, we may set aside the pictural representation of a judgment-day, and regard the future life, in which the consequences of this life are realised, as God's judgment of approval or condemnation. This would also rid us of a contradiction in Paul's teaching. If men are justified now by faith, how are they afterwards to be judged by works? What men will reap hereafter is the harvest in their

lives of their faith or their unbelief. What seems to remain to us of this eschatological teaching of Paul, in which he was very largely indebted to Jewish Apocalyptic literature, as of permanent validity for Christian thought, is that on the one hand, as regards the individual, there is continuity of character and dispositions between this life and the life hereafter, that the condition of the future life will be determined by our relation to Christ, and that it will be our full personality, with its appropriate organ of expression and action, which will be preserved for us; and that on the other hand, as regards the race, God's purpose on earth will be fulfilled in the triumph of Christ over all that has delayed and opposed His work as Saviour and Lord. This hope is an essential element in the Christian salvation.

One question remains: Is this hope for all men? will the Christian salvation at last embrace the whole race? In his exposition Paul is concerned with the Christian hope; but it appears that he held that the wicked would be raised to be judged and punished. Luke, in Acts xxiv. 15, represents Paul as declaring "a resurrection both of the just and the unjust." "The saints shall judge the world" (I. Cor. vi. 2), but they "will not be condemned with the world" (xi. 32)

How the wicked are raised Paul does not state; the resurrection of the righteous is due to their relation to Christ, the life-giving Spirit; and the wicked have no such relation. Our Christian hope need not answer the question. It has been held, however, that Paul believed that all men would be saved. All things will be subject to the Son (I. Cor. xv. 24–28); God through Christ is reconciling all things unto Himself (Col. i. 19, 20); in the name of Jesus every knee shall bow and every tongue confess (Phil. ii. 10–11). Even if we could press the terms, it is doubtful whether Paul was at all thinking of the fate of the wicked, as he was absorbed in the greatness of Christ.

III. THE WORK OF SALVATION

It is God and God alone who saves; and salvation is His work, which man receives in faith. Such is man's *need of salvation* that he cannot save himself; such is *the nature of salvation* that God alone can save. In this work of salvation God is revealed as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The *love of God*, manifested in the *grace of Christ*, is possessed in *the fellowship of the Spirit*.

(1) **The Love of God.**—The Christian salvation is the fulfilment of the absolute and perfect will of God as

Love, and therefore it cannot fail. Hence the cer tainty, confidence, and courage characteristic of Paul' spirit (Rom. viii. 28–30; Phil. ii. 12, 13). In speaking c God, Paul takes for granted the "ethical monotheism of the Hebrew prophets; and it is not at all necessar here to discuss this doctrine. What is new is the cor ception of God as *Father*. This revelation came to hir in Jesus Christ, and, apart from Christ, he could nc have thought of God as Father. As Father, God i *love* (Rom. v. 8), from which the believer cannot b severed (viii. 38, 39), *mercy* in relation to sinners (Eph ii. 4), and to all sinners (Rom. xi. 32), and *grace* a saving sinners (Eph. ii. 5) fully through the redemptio which is in Christ Jesus (Rom. iii. 24). Although i the apostolic benediction the grace of the Lord Jesu Christ is represented as the manifestation of the love c God, Christ is so identified in the work of salvation wit God, that God may be thought of as grace. If *mercy* the disposition, *grace* is the action of God as *love* i relation to sinners. The reason why the grace of Go comes in the redemption in Christ Jesus is in th divine *wrath*. In the sacrifice of Christ God's judg ment on sin is finally and completely expressed, as we as His forgiveness of sin offered. Paul's phrases, *th*

righteousness of God and *the wrath of God*, are easily misunderstood, and the truth might be expressed in the phrase *holy love* of God.

The revelation of God's Fatherhood we to-day conceive as the highest stage of a progressive revelation, of which the Law was a lower stage; but Paul, as we have seen, thought of them as opposed, and as the Judaisers sought to impose the lower stage on the highest, Paul could not but think of an antagonism. Nevertheless Paul maintains the consistency of the divine purpose by (1) regarding the Gospel as the fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham, which was prior to, and therefore could not be set aside by the Law (Gal. iii. 17), and which Abraham received on the same condition of faith as the Gospel requires (Rom. iv. 3); and (2) representing the law as itself a preparation for the Gospel by the sense of sin and need of God's grace it awakened (vii. 7–25).

This revelation had a wider scope than the former; God's grace was now offered to all mankind. This extension Paul justified by the argument that it was not as circumcised that Abraham received the promise, and that its fulfilment, therefore, need not be confined to the circumcised (Rom. iv. 9–12). Translated out of its

Rabbinic form, what this means is, that all men can exercise the faith which is the Gospel's sole requirement. The objection that the Gentiles had not passed through the preparation by the law which, according to his argument, had been necessary for Israel, Paul does by implication meet, even although the objection was not explicitly present to his mind, in his assumption of a universal revelation of God in nature (Acts xiv. 15, 17; Rom. i. 19, 20), man's religious disposition (Acts xvii. 27, 28) and conscience (Rom. ii. 14, 15). Even the religious beliefs and rites of the Gentiles might be a tutor to Christ, as the law was to the Jew (Gal. iv. 1–3; iii. 24). While the study of comparative religions does not entirely support Paul's estimate of heathenism, yet the results of foreign missions do prove the capacity of all men to welcome the Gospel.

As a pious and patriotic Jew, Paul claims a special revelation of God to his own nation (Rom. iii. 1, 2; ix. 3–5); and although we may think of that revelation differently from Paul, who, as we have seen, used the Holy Scriptures as a Jewish Rabbi would, yet no conclusion of modern scholarship forbids our recognising in the Hebrew nation a progressive revelation culminating in the perfect Revealer, Christ. The admission

which Paul could not but make, of a divine election of Israel to such high privilege, suggested one of the most formidable objections to his Gospel. If your Gospel is true, how has the elect nation rejected it? If God has allowed His elect nation to reject the true Gospel, how is He faithful to His promises? Should not the fulfilment of His promises be such as would lead the people to whom these promises were made to accept it? Paul's answer has three parts: (1) he asserts God's unconditional liberty to do as He will regarding individuals as well as nations (Rom. ix. 1–29); (2) he discovers the reason for God's rejection in the unbelief of the Jewish people (ix. 30–x. 21); (3) he anticipates that God means at last to save both Jew and Gentile (xi.). Into the details of the argument it is impossible to enter, except to point out that Paul's own conception of God as Father forbids so arbitrary a use of freedom as, for argument's sake, he claims as God's right, and that he corrects his own argument by admitting that human unbelief has resulted in divine rejection, and by expecting that God will yet have mercy on all. The first and second parts of the argument belong to a local and temporary polemic; the third has a more general and permanent interest. Can we with Paul hope that, when the fulness of the Gentiles

has come in, all Israel shall be saved (xi. 25, 26)? As Judaism is to-day, the fulfilment does not seem probable; but a world thoroughly evangelised, and a Christendom, which to the Jew has often misrepresented Christ, thoroughly Christian in disposition and action, would surely offer an argument which would at last overcome Jewish unbelief. To the writer the redemption of humanity in Christ would appear incomplete if in it were not included the people from whom, according to the flesh, He came.

While Paul conceives of all mankind as included in God's purpose of grace, yet the realisation of that grace, rejected by the Jewish people, is within the Christian Church, and each believer. The eternity of the divine love Paul represents, in accordance with ancient Jewish modes of thought, as a choice of the objects of it from the beginning (II. Thess. ii. 13), as a foreknowledge and foreordination (Rom. viii. 29), election (ver. 33), and call "according to God's purpose" (ver. 28). This purpose in Christ is eterna (Eph. iii. 11) "before the foundation of the world" (i. 4); God's love in mercy and grace is His eterna will. The inference, however logical, that election o some involves reprobation of others is not drawn b

Paul, who, on the contrary, affirms that God's purpose is to save all (I. Tim. iv. 10, ii. 4; Rom. xi. 32). Whether sin and unbelief will, for any, at last hinder the fulfilment of that purpose, Paul does not distinctly answer. He leaves us with fears and with hopes. The fulfilment of God's will for mankind will, in his view, involve for nature, even with its "bondage of corruption," its pain, change, death, a glorious transformation (viii. 21). Meanwhile, we are saved by hope (ver. 24).

(2) **The Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ.**—It is through Christ and in Christ that God's love saves. The object of Paul's faith was Christ, and we must now try to form as complete a conception of Christ as He was known to Paul in his experience, and as He was thought of by him to answer his mind's questions. For in Paul's doctrine speculation is joined to experience, and we must try to distinguish them. Paul knew Christ as a personal reality, and not merely as a theological idea. That knowledge began with the appearance of Christ to him on the way to Damascus. What Paul says of the change of the natural to the spiritual body in the Resurrection (I. Cor. xv. 51, 52) was probably suggested by the appearance of Christ, "the firstfruits of them that are asleep" (20). He appeared as "the

second man from heaven," whose image believers will bear (46–49), and as the "life-giving spirit" in contrast with Adam as "the living soul." But he appeared *bodily* (Col. ii. 9; Phil. iii. 21). What Paul saw was "the glory of the Lord" (II. Cor. iii. 18). In the body of His glory Christ is "the image of the invisible God" (Col. i. 15). This glory is perceived as light of dazzling brightness (Acts xxii. 11).

As *life-giving spirit* Christ is conceived by Paul, in accordance with the Old Testament conception of *spirit*, as the divine energy by which he had been completely renewed, made a new creation. Christ as the power as well as wisdom of God (I. Cor. i. 24) enables Paul to do all things (Phil. iv. 13), and His strength is perfected in weakness (II. Cor. xii. 9). The Resurrection of Christ was an act of divine omnipotence, and that power of God resides in and is transmitted by the Risen One (Eph. i. 19–20), and this divine power, experienced by believers, is the evidence of Christ's divine dignity.

This investiture with divine dignity and power took place at the Resurrection. The exaltation after humiliation was not merely to the previous state, but to something more, as a reward of the humiliation. God

gave Him the name above every other name, that is, *Lord* (Phil. ii. 5–11), and He was declared (marked off, set apart) *Son of God* with power (Rom. i. 3–4). The confession of Christ's Lordship was the earliest creed of Christendom (II. Cor. iv. 5). In Rom. x. 13 Paul quotes the words of Joel ii. 32, which refer to Jehovah (*cf.* I. Cor. x. 22, from Deut. xxxii. 21) in regard to Christ; and this transference to Christ of words written of God in the Old Testament is characteristic of the New Testament writers. Not only did Paul pray to Christ as Lord (II. Cor. xii. 8), but he describes believers as those "that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" (I. Cor. i. 2). All things are subjected by God to Christ (xv. 27). Most significant is the solemn and deliberate confession Paul opposes to polytheism: "To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him" (viii. 6).

Is this Lordship of Christ consistent with monotheism? There is a subordination of Christ to the Father. While the Father is first cause and last end, Christ is the agent or medium. The Son is dependent on the Father, for the fulness of the Godhead dwells in Him bodily, be-

cause it so seemed good (Col. i. 19). The Lordship is given by God's grace (Phil. ii. 9). God raised Him by His power (I. Cor. vi. 14). Christ is God's, as the Christian is Christ's (I. Cor. iii. 23). In the end even Christ will be subject of God, that "God may be all in all" (I. Cor. xv. 28). A passage so doubtful in its interpretation as Rom. ix. 5 (see R.V., margin) cannot modify this emphatic teaching on subordination.

This view of Christ's person was Paul's from the beginning. In the Captivity Epistles (Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians) we have, not a development of his belief, but, in opposition to heresy, a more explicit statement of it. In Col. i. 13–17 Christ is described in three phrases—"the Son of His Love," "the image of the invisible God," and "the firstborn of all creation." Christ's absolute superiority to all angels is shown in the first phrase, which represents Christ as first the object and then the agent of the love, which is the very nature of God. The second phrase asserts that as Christ perfectly possesses so He perfectly reveals the Being of God, otherwise unknown. His relation to God determines His place in the universe—"the firstborn of all creation." This phrase does not include

Him among creatures; as His relation to the Creation is defined in the phrases, "in Him, through Him, unto Him"; in the widest sense He is God's agent and representative in the world. "He is before all things; and in Him all things consist." This is theological speculation, not religious experience; but its *truth* for us will depend on the *worth* we assign to Christ. If He is all that God is to us, we may assign Him such a function in God's world.

Although for a practical purpose, to enforce the lesson of humility and unselfishness, Paul essays an even bolder flight of speculation in Phil. ii. 6–8, a passage regarding the interpretation of which there has been much discussion. The writer can but briefly give his own conclusions. The phrase, the form of God, assigns to Christ divine nature, and not merely divine functions or privileges. The equality with God is not in the possession of the form of God, but in the name above every other name. The prize, this equality with God, was not already possessed, as the form of God was. It was a thing which might have been grasped, but was received as a gift in reward for the self-emptying. This self-emptying was not the surrender of divine nature, but of divine functions and privileges. Although the divine nature

was possessed by Christ, He did not claim, as a right, the equality with God, but received it as a reward for His voluntary surrender of divine functions and privileges. It must be admitted that this speculation of Paul's offers many difficulties to our thought; but it is impossible here to attempt any solution of the problem. This must be insisted on, that Paul was doubtless less concerned about the adequacy of this explanation than about the moral significance of the Incarnation as divine self-sacrifice. The same appeal to this divine example is made in II. Cor. viii. 9.

These two passages teach the pre-existence of Christ, as also those in which His being sent by the Father is mentioned (Gal. iv. 4; Rom. viii. 3). While it is likely that Paul shared the current Jewish belief in the pre-existence of whatever has worth, as the Temple, the Messiah, his ascription of pre-existence would be quite explicable apart from that belief. He thought of Christ as so divine that it would have been incredible to him that He could have begun to be in time. The pre-existence is involved in the divinity of Christ in any proper sense of the term; to affirm the one is to infer the other.

In contrast to the pre-existence in the form of God,

and the exaltation to equality with God at the Resurrection, the earthly life of Jesus was for Paul a humiliation. He was not ignorant of the record of that life, as his appeals to the teaching and example of Jesus for practical ends show, yet his interest was so centred on the Crucified Saviour and Risen Lord that he was comparatively indifferent to the grace and truth the Fourth Evangelist saw in it. The human birth is mentioned to call attention to the subjection to the law (Gal. iv. 4) and the Davidic descent (Rom. i. 3). In the first passage the phrase, "born of a woman," has been sometimes held to be a covert allusion to the virgin-birth; but this view cannot be pressed. In the second passage the Davidic descent describes Christ "according to the flesh," while the higher side of His being is "according to the spirit of holiness." That Christ was "born under the law" was for Paul of primary importance; for it was one application of the principle of redemption that Christ must assume all from which He came to deliver man. To redeem them that were under the law, He must Himself be subject to the law. He must Himself feel the pressure of the yoke which He was to take off from others.

The same principle is illustrated in Rom. viii. 3 in

regard to another element of Christ's humiliation. In order to condemn the sin in the flesh, which the law was too weak to condemn, Christ was sent in *the likeness of flesh of sin* and *for sin*. The first phrase does not mean that flesh and sin are identical, but that in man commonly the flesh is "the seat and vehicle of sin"; nor does it mean that Christ did not possess a real body, but only that His flesh was not a flesh of sin. The second phrase, "for sin," is in the R.V. rendered "as an offering for sin," in accordance with the usage of the Septuagint. Paul does teach that Christ's death was such an offering (iii. 25), but probably in this passage the phrase has a wider reference. In every respect Christ deals with sin as the law had failed to do. His conquest of sin under the same conditions of moral struggle is the condemnation of sin.

Although Christ thus conquered sin, yet for the salvation of men from sin God treated Him as a sinner, for that is the meaning of II. Cor. v. 21: "Him, who knew no sin, He made to be sin on our behalf, that we might become the righteousness of God in Him." The sinless was made to endure all the consequences of sin, that the sinful might be forgiven. The extreme consequence of sin which Christ endured is stated in Gal. iii.

13: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us; for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth upon a tree." The saying in Deut. xxi. 23 gave for Paul a special significance to the mode of Christ's death; but the curse Jesus endured has also the wider reference of Deut. xxvii. 26: "Cursed is every one which continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them." In using this term in reference to the death of Christ, Paul probably wished to lay emphasis on the exceptional terror, darkness, and desolation of Christ's experience on the Cross; and the record of Gethsemane and Calvary in the Gospels justifies its use.

While in death Christ suffered to the uttermost for sin, it was by death that He was delivered from all further relation to sin (Rom. vi. 10). He willed His death as such separation from sin, for in this He is presented as an example of being dead to sin and alive to God (ver. 11). His death and rising again were both moral acts—renunciation of sin and consecration unto God. This aspect of Christ's death is more fully discussed in Rom. v. 12–21. The greater efficacy of Christ's grace in comparison with Adam's sin lies in His obedience, in contrast to Adam's transgression.

Not merely the endurance of the consequences of sin, but the voluntary acceptance of them in obedience to God, gives moral value to the Cross. Probably only the need of meeting the Judaisers on their own ground led Paul to give greater prominence to the legal aspect of the death of Christ. The moral aspect which appeals to us to-day so much more convincingly must have been altogether congenial to Paul himself, although he does not treat it so fully. The act of obedience was also an act of grace (II. Cor. viii. 9), and Paul's total impression of the life and work of Christ is surely expressed in the phrase, "the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ." Of this grace as a constant, satisfying, personal communion Paul himself made abundant proof (Gal. ii. 20). It enabled him to sever himself from sin and give himself to God (II. Cor. v. 14). It sustained him in all his trials, for he was sure Christ shared his sorrows (II. Cor. i. 5; Col. i. 24). It inspired his hope either to survive to the Second Coming, or, even in death, "to be at home with the Lord" (II. Cor. v. 6–8).

This idea of grace we may apply, as Paul did not, to answer the question he has left unanswered. We can understand Christ's moral experience "under the law" and "in the likeness of sinful flesh," but it is not so

easy to give a definite content to Paul's statement that the sinless was made sin, and that He became a curse. The pain of bodily death alone does not give full meaning to the words. In His "inner life" Christ must have endured the consequences of sin. How was it possible for One who knew Himself sinless, the beloved Son of God, to suffer sorrow and shame, death and darkness? Is not *grace* the explanation? As Paul felt that Christ was one with him, and he with Christ, so may we think of Christ as making Himself so completely one with sinful mankind as to make His own—not in a legal substitution, but in the identification of love—all the consequences of sin, not only as these are for the sinful, but with the clearer vision and the keener conviction of holy love. Paul's experience may here be used by us to complete his theology.

(3) **The Fellowship of the Holy Spirit.**—The doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Apostolic Church was a development of teaching already found in the Old Testament, as well as an interpretation of the distinctive Christian experience. In the Old Testament the presence and power of God in nature and in man, especially in any exceptional endowment of strength, skill, courage, wisdom, or character, is described by the phrase the

Spirit of God (Gen. i. 2; Ps. civ. 30; Judg. xiv. 6; Exod. xxxi. 3, 4; II. Sam. xxiii. 2; I. Sam. x. 10; Ps. li. 11; Isa. lxiii. 10). The inspiration of the prophet, especially, is the Spirit's working in him; the purification of the saint is also His work. This moral and religious reference, though not absent altogether, is far less prominent than the connection of the Spirit with the unusual in human endowments. The common teaching of the Christian Church in the apostolic age attaches itself to this view. The experience at Pentecost of a "holy enthusiasm," a religious revival accompanied, as this has often been, by unusual states of consciousness and modes of activity, such as ecstatic utterances (speaking with tongues), confirmed this conception. After baptism, usually by laying on of the hands of the apostles, the same experience was elsewhere shared (Acts viii. 17, ix. 17, 18, xix. 5, 6). The baptism of Cornelius followed the falling of the Holy Spirit on those who heard the word of Peter, and was regarded by Peter as the legitimate result of the divine gift to the Gentiles (x. 44). In the Book of Acts the phrase "Holy Spirit" does not merely signify the divine agent, but in many cases the human condition of spiritual exaltation; wherever the phrase occurs without the article, it has

been suggested by one scholar that we should best express the sense by the phrase "holy enthusiasm." Paul himself shared this holy enthusiasm; he possessed the unusual gifts which often went with it in a pre-eminent degree (I. Cor. xiv. 18; II. Cor. xii. 1); he regarded every one of these gifts as wrought by the Spirit of God (I. Cor. xii. 4): he would never have thought of seeking the psychological explanation which, in regard to some of them at least, we take for granted. But, on the other hand, his moral insight and spiritual discernment prevented his over-estimating their value, as many of the converts did. In Corinth especially, with a lax moral standard and a bitter partisanship, these gifts abounded, were made a boast of, and were exercised without any regard to the common good. This led Paul to discuss the question fully. He describes the Church as a body with many members; the gift each member possesses is a function to be exercised only for the common good. Among the gifts he includes the less showy qualities of wisdom, knowledge, faith, as well as the unusual workings of miracles, speaking with tongues, &c. He subordinates the exercise of these gifts, even for the common good, to the more excellent way of love, emphasising the temporary character of

these gifts in contrast with the permanence of faith, hope, love. He expresses a preference for prophecy, which can edify all, rather than speaking with tongues, which brings satisfaction only to the possessor of the gift (I. Cor. xii., xiii., xiv.). Thus he assigns a subordinate place to what was regarded generally as the distinctive evidence of the presence and power of the Spirit in the Church. It is elsewhere he looks for the Spirit's power, even in spiritual enlightenment and moral transformation. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance" (Gal. v. 22, 23). As the power of holiness in man, the Spirit is opposed to the flesh as "the seat and the vehicle of sin" (ver. 17). As an *inward* power, the Spirit is contrasted with the law as outward letter. Against the fruit of the Spirit "there is no law" (ver. 23). The new covenant, to be a minister of which is Paul's joy, is "not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life" (II. Cor. iii. 6). The life of the Christian is "an epistle of Christ, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in tables that are hearts of flesh" (ver. 3). This inwardness is suggested by the phrases in which the believer's relation to the Spirit is expressed.

He lives, is led, and walks by the Spirit (Gal. v. 16, 18, 25). The "spiritual man" is capable of a moral judgment which gives him moral independence (I. Cor. ii. 15); but he also shows a helpful sympathy with others, which makes him a succourer of those who have fallen (Gal. vi. 1). He who has the Spirit has liberty, because he clearly sees the glory of Christ, and is being surely changed into His likeness (II. Cor. iii. 17, 18). He is also marked by humility, as he will not over-estimate his gifts (Gal. vi. 3). The sanctification by the Spirit (II. Thess. ii. 13) extends even to the body, which is "a temple of the Holy Ghost" (I. Cor. vi. 19). Thus the sensuous sins, which paganism so lightly regarded, are a destruction of the temple of God, a defilement of the holy (iii. 16, 17). Not only is the individual believer a temple of the Spirit, but the Church as a body with many members is "builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit" (Eph. ii. 22). To live in the Spirit is a joy, which is the evidence of belonging to the Kingdom of God (Rom. xiv. 17). The possession of the Spirit is the assurance of sonship (Rom. viii. 14; Gal. iv. 6); and this Spirit is not "a spirit of bondage, but a spirit of adoption" (Rom. viii. 15). This assures the believer not only of his present *sonship*, but of his

joint-heirship with Christ, "if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified with him" (ver. 17). The Spirit dwelling in, leading, and inwardly renewing the believer is the pledge of the Resurrection, for thereby God will quicken the mortal bodies (ver. 11). The Spirit is the firstfruits of the divine harvest, which shall be completed in the redemption of the body (ver. 23). The communion of the children of God with the Father is even mediated by the Spirit. The indwelling and inworking Spirit, knowing as the believer cannot the purpose of God concerning him, inspires aspirations which he cannot express in words, but which God Himself, whose Spirit in man inspires these, will fulfil. God by His Spirit awakens yearnings and longings, in order to meet them, which the believer unaided could not himself feel (vers. 26, 27).

What is the relation of the Spirit of God to the Father and the Son, and how are we to think of Him or it? It is to impose a meaning Paul never intended in I. Cor. ii. 10 to assert that the Spirit is God's self-consciousness in a philosophical sense. Here we have not a definition, but an analogy; as a man knows his own inner life better than can any other, so the Spirit of God knows best the deep things of God. That the

Spirit is not to be identified with the Risen Christ has already been shown in the previous section. Paul ascribes personal activity to the Spirit. He works (I. Cor. xii. 11), teaches (ii. 13), wills, dwells, leads, bears witness, helps (Rom. viii. 9, 14, 16, 26). The Holy Spirit is co-ordinated with the Father and Son in II. Cor. xiii. 14; I. Cor. xii. 4–6; and Eph. iv. 4–6. It is impossible to regard the Spirit as merely a personification, such as sin and death, or a common consciousness of the Church. He is God personally present and active in the inmost life of man, the complete expression of divine immanence.

IV. THE CLAIM OF SALVATION

It is God, and God alone, who, as Father, Son, and Spirit, saves man from sin; but in being saved man is not the puppet of divine omnipotence; he makes his own what God bestows; just because it is God who worketh in him to will and to do of his good pleasure, he must work out his own salvation with fear and trembling (Phil. ii. 12). Human liberty and responsibility are not superseded by divine grace. Much as Paul insists that salvation is God's free gift, and that to seek to establish one's own righteousness is to be igno-

rant of, or disobedient to, God's righteousness (Rom. x. 3), yet he fully recognises, in his numerous and urgent exhortations, that man helps or hinders God in His work of salvation. It is unnecessary to quote many passages in illustration of this statement. Let two suffice: "Rejoice alway; pray without ceasing; in everything give thanks; for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus to you-ward. Quench not the Spirit; despise not prophesyings; prove all things; hold fast that which is good; abstain from every form of evil" (I. Thess. v. 16–21). "In diligence not slothful; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord; rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing stedfastly in prayer" (Rom. xii. 11–12). The exhortation in Eph. vi. 10–20 to "put on the whole armour of God" makes clear Paul's conception of the Christian life as an appropriation by man of the sufficient and effective resources of God for his salvation. While Paul insists on mutual helpfulness in this precept, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ," he no less asserts individual responsibility. "Each man shall bear his own burden" (Gal. vi. 2, 5). His repeated reference to the divine judgment points in the same direction.

Man claims the salvation God bestows in the three graces of faith, hope, love. Although Paul declares love to be the greatest of the three (I. Cor. xiii. 13), in his treatment of the Christian life much more is said of faith, and this is explicable by the conditions under which he had to expound and defend his Gospel. In a previous section we have already discussed what is meant by "the righteousness of God" in opposition to the righteousness of the law; the former is by faith, the latter by works. This antithesis runs through Paul's doctrine. To be justified is not to be made righteous, but to be reckoned righteous, not by the performance of the works of the law, but by the exercise of faith in the righteousness of God. To misconceive faith is to misrepresent the whole theological system of Paul, and many of the caricatures of it which we have seen are entirely due to a misunderstanding of what he means by faith. It is the whole inner life of man which is exercised in faith. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness" (Rom. x. 10). It is an activity. "Faith energises in love" (Gal. v. 6) as its motive and power. It is described as "the work of faith" along with "the labour of love" and "the endurance of hope" (I. Thess. i. 3). It is morally conditioned. Those who "believed

not the truth had pleasure in unrighteousness" (II. Thess. ii. 12). It is a submission to God (Rom. x. 3). It is the belief of the mind, the trust of the heart, and the surrender of the will. It is not a productive, but a receptive activity. Man does not make truth, grace, holiness, nor does he earn them; God gives—man welcomes and uses.

This general conception is made much more definite by the object of faith. It is the righteousness of God, the propitiation, redemption, reconciliation God offers *in Christ*. But to avoid mistake and error we must emphasise the phrase *in Christ*. Apart from the personal Saviour and Lord, the abstract terms may easily be defined in such a way as to make faith something less and other than Paul means. Faith is a personal relation, as extensive and comprehensive as a personal relation can be. It is confidence in, affection for, devotion to Jesus Christ; and thus is man's claim of all Christ can be to the soul. Christian faith is faith into Jesus Christ (Gal. ii. 16), in Him (Eph. i. 13), or of Him (Rom. iii. 22, R.V., marg.). Christ dwells in the heart (II. Cor. xiii. 5). The believer no longer lives, but Christ lives in Him, because he has been crucified with Christ (Gal. ii. 20). All who were on confession

of their faith baptized into Christ were buried with Him into death to sin, and raised with Him to "walk in newness of life" (Rom. vi. 4). Henceforth they reckon themselves dead unto sin, but alive unto God (ver. 11). So complete is this change that it may be said "there is a new creation" (II. Cor. v. 17, R.V., marg.). Christ becomes for the believer the world in which he lives, moves, and has his being. He finds himself, and so is found both of God and man, in Christ (Phil. iii. 9); to him to live is Christ (i. 21). As Christ's he has Christ's spirit (Rom. viii. 9), and so is being sanctified as well as has been justified. Faith, then, in claiming Christ, claims holiness as well as forgiveness. Although in his exposition in *Romans* Paul seems to separate justification from sanctification, and is led even to recognise that, separated from sanctification, justification may appear as an encouragement to moral laxity (Rom. vi. 1), yet for his experience there was an indissoluble unity. The object of faith is the same, and the exercise of faith is the same; a personal relation of trust, fellowship, obedience with Christ who died for us, and lives in us.

Closely related to faith are two characteristics of Christian life which claim mention; the believer is on the one hand humble, and on the other bold. He says,

"We are not sufficient of ourselves to account anything as from ourselves," and "Our sufficiency is from God" (II. Cor. iii. 5). Paul is an instance of both qualities when he acknowledges, "I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle," and yet claims, "By the grace of God I am what I am; and His grace which was bestowed upon me was not found vain" (I. Cor. xv. 9, 10). The contrast is probably most vividly presented when we compare I. Cor. ix. 27, "lest I myself should be rejected," and Rom. viii. 38, 39, nothing "shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." Faith is self-emptying to be filled with God.

The exercises of faith, accordingly, are prayer and praise. In the examples of Paul's exhortations already quoted there is the call to constant prayer and praise. Thrice Paul definitely prayed that the stake in the flesh might be removed (II. Cor. xii. 8), and was assured of the sufficiency of God's grace. Again and again in his letters does he assure his converts of his constant intercession on their behalf, blended with his fervent thanksgiving for them. Unceasingly he makes mention of the believers in Rome, that he might by God's will come to them with a spiritual gift (Rom. i. 9). These exercises of faith bring joy to the soul (I. Thess. v. 16, 17, 18).

If faith be this intimate relationship to Christ as the Saviour and the Lord, it follows inevitably that faith will be exercised in constant communion with Him; when in need, or sorrow, or fear, faith will bring its petitions; when the grace of God is abundantly enjoyed, its tribute of gratitude.

The Christian good includes not only present justification and sanctification, appropriated by faith, but also future glorification, a blessed and glorious resurrection, a kingdom of God coming in power and glory, to which hope reaches out. There is salvation by hope as well as faith. "By hope were we saved; but hope that is seen is not hope; for who hopeth for that which he seeth? But if we hope for that which we see not, then do we with patience wait for it" (Rom. viii. 24–25). Endurance of the afflictions and persecutions of the present time is inspired and sustained by this lively and sure expectation of the completed redemption. As the letters to the Thessalonians show, in Paul's teaching the object of hope was clearly and often presented, for they did not need that he should write to them "concerning the times and the seasons" (I. Thess. v. 1). How speedily the fulfilment of their hope was expected is shown by the fact that the death of some of the believers before the Second Coming was a problem for

which Paul must needs offer a solution (iv. 13–18). The expectation was so intense as to lead to a neglect of daily duty, to an unhealthy excitement, which Paul sought to correct by insisting that a certain historical process must be completed before the Second Coming could take place (II. Thess. ii. 1–12).

How great importance Paul attached to the Christian hope of the Resurrection is seen in the care with which he states the argument for in opposition to the denial of it in I. Cor. xv.: "If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most pitiable" (ver. 19). With the content of the hope we have already been concerned in a previous section; what is to be noticed here is how much Paul makes to depend upon it. Preaching and faith alike are vain; sins are unforgiven; those who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished (vers. 14, 17, 18). Baptism for the dead is profitless, so is the risking of life in the Christian warfare (vers. 29, 32). We cannot to-day understand how much the Christians of the Apostolic Age looked forward to the deliverance from present dangers, trials, and afflictions, and from the shadow of death that this hope offered.

We cannot tell whether many in the Church besides the Apostle himself cherished the hope which he expresses in Rom. xi. of a restoration to the divine favour

and blessing of the chosen people. If he had "great sorrow and unceasing pain in his heart, and could wish himself anathema from Christ for his brethren's sake, his kinsmen according to the flesh" (ix. 2, 3), doubtless there were Christian Jews on whom the same burden rested, and who would eagerly welcome the hope which he dared to cherish. Surely the Christian salvation itself could be fully possessed only by those who dared to hope that its universality would be proved fact.

While the expectation of survival to the Resurrection was common, yet other Christians must with Paul have recognised the possibility of death coming to them before their hope was realised. Were they content with the vague assurance that they would fall asleep in Jesus, or did Paul comfort them as well as himself with the confident expectation that to be with Christ was far better? (Phil. i. 23). Whatever form the expectation might assume, this was characteristic of the Christian life, that full satisfaction was not found in present experience, but was partly anticipated by hope.

The greatest of the graces, love, may not appear as belonging to the appropriation of the Christian salvation; but if God is love, then the life of God in man is not complete until love dwells and rules in the heart. The dependence on God's grace of faith, and the anti-

cipation of God's good by hope, are not perfect unless in the union with God in love. It is true that the phrase, "the love of Christ" in II. Cor. v. 14, means Christ's love for His own, not their love for Him; yet the potency of that love as motive depends on the response of love it awakens. Paul's fervent confessions of the identity of his life with Christ's can mean nothing less than an intense affection he felt for Christ, and as he assumes that all Christians are so united to Christ, we may take for granted without his explicit statement that for him life in Christ, the Christian salvation, was fully possessed only in love for Christ.

He is very explicit in his teaching about love of the brethren and of all men. He has no such argument as is found in the First Epistle of John to show the necessity of human love as evidence of love to God; but he does make the greatest of the three graces of religion not only the more excellent way of Christian service, but even the supreme principle of all morality. "Love worketh no ill to his neighbour, love therefore is the fulfilment of the law" (Rom. xiii. 10). The application of this principle to the details of daily duty belongs, however, to Paul's ethics and not his theology; and we therefore now pass from Paul the theologian to Paul the moralist.

CHAPTER VI

PAUL THE MORALIST

In applying the principle of Christian morality in details, Paul had to encounter two difficulties. On the one hand, against the Judaisers he had to maintain the Christian's liberty from the law in the Spirit; on the other, against some of the Gentile converts, who claimed a high degree of enlightenment, he had to oppose moral laxity. The moral life then as always had to be guided between the Scylla and the Charybdis of legalism and libertinism. Paul held that the man who had become a new creature in Christ Jesus would be so led and would so walk by the Spirit as to be dead to sin and alive to God. He found that many who made the Christian confession were still held in bondage to the habits and the standards of the heathen society around them. He must so give his counsel and wield his influence as not to deny the liberty and yet prevent the

licence. It is not necessary to mention all the duties Paul enforces; attention must be confined to the problems of ethics for which he had to find solutions.

In paganism the sins of the flesh, especially in sexual relations, were very lightly regarded, and it was necessary for him to be very insistent on the duty of purity and temperance. God's will in sanctification forbids fornication (I. Thess. iv. 3), for the body even is for the Lord (I. Cor. vi. 14). It may be a temple of the Holy Ghost (ver. 19). It ought to be presented as a living sacrifice unto God (Rom. xii. 1). On account of not only laxity in practice, but even diversity of opinion in regard to the relation of the sexes in the Church in Corinth, Paul is led in the First Epistle to discuss the question fully. He without argument assumes monogamy (I. Cor. vii. 2). He recalls Christ's prohibition of divorce (ver. 10), and is careful to distinguish his counsel from the Lord's command (ver. 25), although in his advice he believes himself to be guided by the Spirit (ver. 40). Under the existing circumstances of persecution, and with the expectation of a speedy return of the Lord, he recommends abstinence from marriage, but always insists on its legitimacy (ver. 2). The unmarried can in his judgment give to the Lord a less distracted mind

and less divided service than those who bear the cares of a household. He failed to realise, however, the development of character and spirit that the home is fitted to bring about. The existence of the small Christian community in the midst of a pagan society presented a special difficulty in the marriage relation. Husband and wife did not always share the same faith; did this difference in the highest interests of life justify a divorce? Paul answers that the Christian partner should not seek separation, but might acquiesce in it if desired by the other (vers. 12–16). And the reason he gives for each course is significant. If the heathen partner desires the continuance of the relationship, this is to be welcomed as an opportunity for the exercise of Christian influence; if separation is desired, this shows that the influence might not be effective. It is in the interests of domestic peace Paul counsels the separation; whether he allowed re-marriage or not is uncertain. His counsels regarding the veiling and the silence of women (xi. 1–16, xiv. 34–36) in the public assemblies of the Church, although supported by Rabbinic arguments which have for us no validity whatever, and which are opposed to Paul's own assertion of the spiritual equality of all in Christ Jesus (Gal. iii. 28), were prudent The

Christian women, by disregarding the restrictions which modesty was held to impose on a virtuous woman, would have risked their moral reputation. Alike in his counsel and his reasons for it Paul shows himself to be entirely a man of his own time. While on the one hand Paul seems to think of marriage as merely a protection against sexual licence (I. Cor. vii. 9), on the other he does present an ideal of the relationship in comparing to it the relation of Christ to His Church (Eph. v. 22–33). The exhortations to husbands and wives, parents and children (v. 22–vi. 4; Col. iii. 18–21), indicate a standard for the Christian home in advance of the customs of the environment. While there are problems of the home to-day for which Paul's teaching offers no direct solution, yet in his insistence on purity and maintenance of monogamy he asserts the Christian moral principle for this relation.

The economic order of society to-day is entirely different from that of the ancient world—now free labour, then slavery. Paul assumes the existence of this institution; he does not challenge its moral right or social expediency, even although he insists that in Christ Jesus there can be "neither bond nor free" (Gal. iii. 28). On this relation, as on that of the sexes, he asserts a revolu-

tionary principle, but accepts existing conditions, while seeking to purify and elevate them. Masters and slaves owe a duty to each other (Col. iii. 22–iv. 1; Eph. vi. 5–9): the masters should "render unto their slaves that which is just and equal, knowing that they also have a Master in heaven" (Col. iv. 1); and the slaves should obey "in singleness of heart, fearing the Lord" (iii. 22). In the letter to Philemon the question is forced even more closely home; but Paul does not seem to recognise that the relation itself is a problem. He recognises the master's rights over his slave, and therefore sends him back, even although he would have liked to keep him for service (vers. 12–14). He pleads for his forgiveness, and his welcome, "no longer as a slave, but more than a slave, a brother beloved" (ver. 16). This does not mean a request for his emancipation, but for his kind treatment in the old relation. The Christian slave is advised to "abide in that calling wherein he was called" (I. Cor. vii. 20). He is not to distress himself because of his condition, and even if he can secure his freedom, he is not to seek it, but to make the best of his place as a slave (the meaning of verse 21 is ambiguous, but this is probably the sense more consistent with the whole context). We must not import our modern point of view, and suppose that Paul was

here guided by expediency; that he recognised the social disorder which would result from a declaration of human equality in condemnation of the institution; and that he anticipated the gradual transformation of theory and then practice which the Christian principle involved. On the one hand, he was so absorbed in the life in God and its hopes of the coming of God's kingdom that, in comparison with this good, all else was insignificant; and on the other, we must recognise that, as the citizen of an empire in which citizenship did not carry with it any ability or responsibility to guide the course of public affairs, he never thought of any change in the existing order until at Christ's Second Coming it would altogether pass away.

Paul, as we have already seen, was proud of his Roman citizenship, and ready to make use of the privilege it conferred. In his missionary labours he had experienced the protection that the Roman government afforded against the persecution of the unbelieving Jews. As the plan of his work shows, he did recognise and avail himself of the opportunity for the spread of the Gospel which the Roman empire offered. His judgment differed both from that of his Jewish countrymen and that which prevailed in the Christian Church soon after. Although he must have known something of the

defects which went along with the excellences of the Roman Government, he does not discuss these. He asserts that the State is of divine appointment, and has, therefore, a claim for human submission, as resistance of it is disobedience to God (Rom. xiii. 1–7). As its end is to be a terror, not to the good, but only the evil, it has a right both to inflict punishment and to require tribute. Paul's teaching is in accord with Christ's on this matter (Mark xii. 17). While advising subjection to the State, Paul is indignant that members of the Church in Corinth take their quarrels before the Roman tribunals. If any differences arise, although they should not arise, let them be settled by those who are endowed with wisdom to deal with such matters (I. Cor. vi. 1–11). Christian brethren should not appeal to the unrighteous, but to the saints, for the settlement of their disputes. Paul would thus, in its inner life, detach the Church as much as possible from the State. Recognising a temporary function of the Roman Empire in restraining human wickedness, especially that of persecuting Judaism, he yet expects that this will be taken out of the way, and the outbreak of lawlessness which will result will be ended only by the overthrow of the powers of evil by Christ at His Second Coming. It is clear that Paul had no conception, such as we have to-day,

of the increasing value of the activities of the State in securing the conditions of human progress.

Paul had no occasion to discuss the institution of property as he had of marriage, slavery, and government; but in all his exhortations he assumes the rights of private property. He not only requires every man to work for his own living (I. Thess. iv. 11, 12), but himself gives the example (I. Thess. ii. 9; II. Cor. xii. 13). As regards the persons who, carried away by the excitement which the hope of Christ's speedy return awakened, were disorderly, did not work, and were busybodies, he lays down the hard rule: "If any man will not work, neither let him eat" (II. Thess. iii. 10, 11). If he does not dwell on the dignity of labour, he recognises its social necessity. Assuming that a man is entitled to the results of his own labours as his own, he attaches great value to the grace of liberality. The taught is to "communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things," and it is in this connection he lays down the general principle which is commonly otherwise applied: "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap" (Gal. vi. 6, 7). As there is opportunity, good is to be done to "all men, especially toward them that are of the household of faith" (ver. 10). In the relief of the poor in Jerusalem he took great pains to arrange collections in

the Gentile churches. The giving was to be regular and proportionate. "Upon the first day of the week let each one of you lay by him in store, as he may prosper" (I. Cor. xvi. 2). It is to be voluntary and cheerful (II. Cor. ix. 7), also disinterested (Rom. xii. 8), for it is valueless unless expressive of love (I. Cor. xiii. 3). In view of the Lord's speedy coming, the believer will not attach any importance to his possessions (I. Cor. vii. 30). In this as in all else he will be loosely attached to the world which is passing away (ver. 31).

Although the Council in Jerusalem decided that the Gentiles should abstain from "the pollutions of idols, and from what is strangled, and from blood" (Acts xv. 20), yet Paul seems to have considered its decrees as applicable only to the churches of Syria, Cilicia, and Galatia; and thus, when the question of "clean" and "unclean" meats emerged in Corinth and Rome, he discussed it in relation to first principles. He agreed with the brethren who knew that the idol was nothing, and that the meat offered to the idol could not be polluted thereby, and who, therefore, had no scruples about eating. He, however, recognised that for the brethren who had not this knowledge, partaking of such food would be a defilement of their conscience. The

liberty of the "strong" might become "a stumbling-block to the weak," for the practice of the strong might embolden the weak to act in this matter against his conscience. The strong is advised not to use his liberty, lest in causing to perish the weak brother for whom Christ died, he sin against Christ (I. Cor. viii.). The question in Romans is discussed on wider grounds. The scruples about meats seem not to have been confined to food offered to idols, for the "strong eat all things, and the weak eat only herbs" (Rom. xiv. 1–23). Paul forbids all mutual judgment of one another, as God alone is Judge, and to Him alone each is responsible; and claims individual liberty. But he insists that this liberty must never be used to the moral injury of another. "Destroy not with thy meat him for whom Christ died." He sums up the discussion in the startling statement, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin," by which he means that in all action a man must follow his conscience, and submit that conscience to the rule of Christ.

In his treatment of these moral problems Paul shows the sanity of his judgment. He himself had his life hid with Christ in God, he gloried only in Christ's Cross; he waited for the manifestation of the Son of God from Heaven. If this "other-worldliness" leads him to appreciate at less than their full value the family and the State

as factors of moral progress, and to attach less importance than we do to-day to social reform, the application consistently and courageously to human institutions of Christian principles, so that in regard to the status of woman in society and the condition of the slave he does disappoint us, yet he was not carried away by *fanaticism*, as were some of the converts in Thessalonica; he did not advocate *asceticism*, as many who have been absorbed in the spiritual have done; he recognised the present claims of all social relationships, and desired their fulfilment in the spirit of Christ. His was neither an unpractical mysticism nor an unspiritual utilitarianism. He took full account of the realities which condition and circumscribe the realisation of the ideal. If here and there we do detect the limitations of the Jew trained in the school of the scribes, yet what is general is a clear perception of the great moral principle of Christianity, the love which can combine liberty and service, and a prudent application of it to the varying conditions of life. If we think, and are justified in thinking, primarily of Paul the theologian, yet we must not overlook his merits as the moralist; for in his thought and life there was no separation of belief and duty; the faith toward God he insisted on was a faith which energised in a love which was the fulfilment of the moral law.

CHAPTER VII

PAUL THE MARTYR (Acts xxi. 17–xxviii.)

Although kindly welcomed by James and the elders, Paul was advised to try and allay the bitter feeling against him by conforming to Jewish custom by taking part in, and bearing the cost of the fulfilment of, a vow which four men had taken upon themselves. Whether Paul agreed to this with conviction, or only as a compromise, we cannot now judge; but whatever the motive, the effort at conciliation proved vain. The fury of the Jewish mob was aroused by the charge that he had defiled the temple by taking a Gentile into it. Saved from its violence by the captain of the Roman garrison in Fort Antonia, his attempt to defend himself in the mother-tongue failed to allay the excitement. Once more he appealed to his Roman citizenship when arrangements were being made to examine him by scourging. Warned by his sister's son of a plot to kill

Paul, the Roman captain was ready to be relieved of a difficulty by sending him to the governor in Cæsarea. Although Felix was convinced, after the trial, that there was no case against Paul, he kept him in prison for two years, hoping to get a bribe for his release, and, hearing him speak occasionally, was moved to fear, but not brought to repentance.

On Felix's recall in disgrace, Festus, his successor, anxious to conciliate the Jews, suggested the trial of the case in Jerusalem; but Paul, knowing that his enemies would probably discover some means of taking his life, and hopeless of getting justice in the provincial court, made his appeal to Cæsar. Although the case had thus been taken out of his hands, the governor availed himself of the opportunity of consultation with King Agrippa II., who was more familiar with Jewish affairs, in order to find out some definite accusation which could be made against the prisoner. The facts advanced by Paul in his defence seemed so strange to the governor that he charged him with madness through much learning; an earnest appeal to King Agrippa for understanding was met with the sneer: "With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian." Although Agrippa expressed the conviction of

his innocence, the appeal to Cæsar could not be set aside. On the voyage to Rome, Paul showed his commanding personality. Warmly welcomed by the Christians there, he made one more attempt to win his countrymen. But their unbelief again made him turn to the Gentiles, among whom for two years he laboured. Although a prisoner, chained by the wrist to a Roman soldier, who was one of his guard, he was allowed to live in his own lodgings, and his friends were suffered freely to visit him. Sir Wm. Ramsay has conjectured that Paul had at this time come into his inheritance, so that he was no longer in the straitened financial circumstances which, during his missionary journeys, had often compelled him to toil hard for his living.

During the two years in Cæsarea, or more probably after his arrival in Rome, Paul wrote the letter to *Philemon*, and the letter to the Church at Colossæ, dealing with a heresy which subordinated Christ to other angelic beings, and advocated asceticism. Some of the contents of this letter he transferred with modifications to a circular letter to the churches in Asia; and this is known to us as the *Epistle to the Ephesians*. Probably near the end of those two years in Rome, Paul wrote the Epistle to the *Philippians*, in which, to

a Church that had given him much joy, he opens out his heart. In this intensely personal writing we get glimpses of his circumstances and moods. His influence has spread "throughout the whole prætorian guard," and his boldness encourages others to preach the Gospel freely. Enemies there are who so preach as to grieve him. But he is confident that, whatever happens, all will be for the best, but he knows not whether to live or to die were better (i. 12–30). This is the last sight we have of Paul in the framework of the history in Acts, the abrupt termination of which is one of the unsolved problems of criticism, with which, however, we cannot now deal.

If the *Pastoral Epistles* are authentic letters of Paul, the allusions they contain to the movements of Paul and his companions give us materials for continuing the story. The writer must admit that the vocabulary seems to him so different from that of the other Pauline letters, and that the characteristics of Paul's genius are so little evident in the teaching, that he finds it very difficult to recognise Paul's authorship. The considerations on the other side are, however, so weighty that he feels bound at least to sketch the story of Paul's last years as these letters present it to us. Paul either escaped or

was released from his imprisonment at the end of the two years, and travelled about in the East till he was rearrested, taken back to Rome, tried, and condemned to death. *I. Timothy* was apparently written somewhere in Macedonia to Timothy, whom Paul had left behind him in Ephesus (i. 3) to set the church there in order, but whom he hoped soon to rejoin (iii. 14). *Titus* seems to have been sent from Corinth to Titus, whom Paul had left in Crete (i. 5) for the same purpose as Timothy in Ephesus. Possibly Crete had been visited on the way to Ephesus. Paul does not intend now to journey eastward again, but desires Titus to join him at Nicopolis, where he intends to winter (iii. 12). There possibly he was rearrested, for II. Timothy is written from prison in the expectation of death after one trial in which he had stood alone (iv. 9–21). Brethren who had been with him had left him; Luke was faithful; but he desired the presence of Timothy and Mark, now commended as "useful for ministering." In his prison he feels his need of the cloak he left behind in Troas, and the books, especially the parchments. But he looks backward thankfully, and forward hopefully. "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for

me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give to me at that day" (iv. 7–8).

Paul hoped to visit Spain after he had been in Rome (Rom. xv. 28). According to Clement of Rome, this intention was fulfilled (I. Epistle, 5). He was "a herald both in the east and in the west," and before his departure "had come to the *limit of the West*." The last phrase, it is held, can, for one writing from Rome, mean nothing else than Spain. This tradition has other support, but it must be admitted that it may be an inference from Rom. xv. 28. If it is trustworthy, this visit must have taken place before the visit to Crete alluded to in *Titus* i. 5. According to a credible Roman tradition, Paul was beheaded at a spot three miles from Rome on the Ostian way, the name of which then was *Aquæ Salviæ*, but which is now called *Tre Fontane*. Here Constantine erected the Basilica Pauli.

Although Paul described himself as "chief of sinners," as "least of saints," as "not meet to be called an apostle," yet the Christian Church accords to him the highest place in its gratitude, affection, and reverence. There are some dark spots in this sun, reminding us that only One has shone with the undimmed radiance of sinless perfection. He felt and uttered the hate of hate,

and the scorn of scorn. He could blaze out into passionate indignation. He could pronounce anathema any who loved not the Lord (I. Cor. xvi. 22), call down a curse on those who preached another Gospel (Gal. i. 8), describe the Judaisers as dogs (Phil. iii. 2), wish that they would mutilate themselves (Gal. v. 12), desire the fornicator in Corinth to be handed over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh (I. Cor. v. 5), threaten with divine vengeance, and address in terms of contempt, the high-priest (Acts xxiii. 3). In his self-defence he was driven to indulge in boasting, which in his calmer moments he himself felt to be "not after the Lord, but as in foolishness" (II. Cor. xi. 17). He recognised his own peril to "be exalted overmuch" (xii. 7), and accepted his stake in the flesh as keeping him in remembrance of his weakness, so that the power of Christ might rest upon him (ver. 9). Although it may be objected that to maintain his Gospel he had to assert himself, we cannot surely appeal from his own self-judgment.

In the defence of his Gospel against the Judaisers, he is not as scrupulously fair in his methods of controversy as we might desire. He does not appreciate the difficulties of his opponents, nor allow sufficiently for the revolution which his own conversion had brought about

in himself, but others had not experienced. Right as was his contention, necessary as was his victory to the progress of the Church, his advocacy of the Gospel of grace was not always gracious. If the interpretation of II. Cor. ii. 5–11 is correct, Paul had in a personal dispute demanded a severer penalty than he afterwards regarded as right, and confessed that Satan had nearly got the advantage over him. His Rabbinic training leads him to use proofs, such as in the passage about the veiling of women (I. Cor. xi. 1–16), which his enlightened reason and conscience cannot have fully approved. His assent to the proposal to bear the expense of the purifying rites (Acts xxi. 23–26), and his use to his own advantage of the divided opinion of the Council (xxiii. 6), seem scarcely worthy of his courage as a man or his faith in God.

But when we have said this, it is all that need be said; and it does not lessen our appreciation of the greatness of the man, the saint, the apostle. His was a great personality; how keen, subtle, and searching an intellect, how sensitive and yet illumined a conscience, how tender and passionate a heart, how strong and masterly a will, how firmly compacted a character, how persistent a purpose, unfailing an industry, dauntless a courage, abundant a service. Luke's record shows how deep

was the impression he made, and how great the influence he wielded. The more vehement hostility of his enemies towards him than to any other Christian preacher is a tribute to the force of his personality, as the intensity of the affection he inspired to the wealth of his soul. Wherever he is, even on the ship that conveys him as a prisoner to Rome, his greater manhood gives him the leadership.

But his natural endowments, great as these were, were purified and elevated and invigorated by his faith, his confidence in God, his personal communion with Christ, his possession in full measure of the "holy enthusiasm" which was characteristic of the Christian fellowship. This life hid with Christ in God explains alike his humility and his assurance in regard to his own salvation, mission, message. He was so sure because Christ held him fast. What endears him most to us is that the love wherewith he knew himself loved of God in Christ Jesus so subdued his strong, proud, vehement nature, that in his character he deserves as well as John to be called the apostle of love. How he loved his countrymen, that he was willing to be anathema from Christ for their salvation (Rom. ix. 3); how he loved his converts, that he never ceased to pray and praise God

for them, to suffer or rejoice with them (II. Cor. i. 3–11); how he loved all men, that he was willing to be offered as a sacrifice for the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile in one Church (Phil. ii. 17). All his letters, whether he is praising or blaming, counselling or warning, show a heart tender, gentle, forbearing, and forgiving. How tactful and courteous he is! Quotations could not adequately illustrate these traits. The letters must be read through.

What was the service that this heroic, loving man rendered to the Church of Christ? We may put it in three easily remembered phrases: *his experience of Christ*, *his exposition of the Cross*, and *his expansion of the Church*. In no other apostolic writings is the life hid with Christ in God so fully presented to us; nowhere else does the fellowship of the living Christ gain so clear expression. That Christ is not a posthumous influence or example, but that He is a present, living, mighty, gracious reality, Paul's record of his experience testifies. The intensity of that experience, the thoroughness of the change wrought at his conversion, the variety of the crises of the soul through which he passed, give to his life-story a meaning and a worth such as we do not elsewhere find. Sometimes this experience is said

to be exceptional; but this is to be noted, that it is the type which has been reproduced in the men who have most powerfully affected the course of Christian history.

Paul's previous experience as a Pharisee made the supreme question of life for him: How can sinful man be righteous before holy God? He found the answer for himself in the Cross of Christ, in which there is revealed the righteousness of God by faith, not works. After Christ had risen from the dead, the Apostolic Church did recognise the divine necessity of the Cross; here Paul was on common ground with the other apostles, but no other worked out so fully in thought, or stated so clearly in speech, what the death meant. His exposition has been foolishness and an offence to not a few in the Christian Church; but, on the other hand, for many seers and saints his doctrine has so presented the reality of the sacrifice as to make Christ Crucified to them the power and the wisdom of God. We must not identify the reality that saves man with his or any other man's exposition; but the writer is free to confess that both his reason and his conscience find a satisfaction in Paul's teaching on this theme that he can find nowhere else.

As has been already shown, Paul's conception of the

Gospel necessarily involved its universality, bore in itself the impulse to preach it to Jew and Gentile alike. The writer himself believes that, while the ministry of Jesus was necessarily confined to Jews, yet in His teaching there is already a wider outlook; yet the early community of believers was bound by the Jewish exclusiveness. As Philip's work in Samaria, Peter's visit to Cornelius, the founding of the Church in Antioch, show, the growing life must burst these bonds. But it was due to Paul that the Church was so detached from Judaism as to be able to appeal universally to the Gentiles. He not only secured the freedom of the Gentiles from the Jewish law, but, on the one hand, he preached a Gospel that could not be less than for all men, and, on the other, he had a vision, and did much to realise it, of a Church in which Jew and Gentile would be one man in Christ Jesus.

Such being his function in the history of the Church, he is not to be described as either the founder of the Christian Church or the perverter of the Gospel of Jesus. The Jesus of an extreme modern criticism, who was but a Jewish prophet calling men to repentance and faith in view of the near coming of the kingdom of God, can be found in the Gospels only by violent muti-

lations of their contents, and is not great enough in character, spirit, influence, to give even a start to the Christian faith. We may believe that He was great enough in His earthly life to know what He would come to be for the life in God of man; and in calling His disciples to Him, and inspiring them with the faith of which they were afterwards the witnesses, He Himself was the founder of the Christian Church. The Gospel which He preached even in the days of His flesh had already intimations regarding His person and His work which fully justified the Apostolic Gospel; nay, even the more comprehensive and definite exposition of it found in Paul's theology. In the preceding pages the need of severing the Christian kernel from the Jewish husk in that theology has been fully recognised; but when we have conceded all that can be demanded, there remains in Paul's experience and interpretation of Christ's person and work no contradiction of the mission and message of Jesus, as He Himself conceived them. Paul described himself as the bond-slave of Jesus Christ; it was Christ only he loved, Christ's Gospel he preached, and Christ's Church into which he gathered the Gentile as well as the Jew.

APPENDIX

(1) **Literary Sources.**—The Book of Acts gives us the record of the missionary labours of Paul ; his own Letters not only contain his teaching, but abound in allusions which enable us to become familiar with his personality, his relation to the churches he founded, and the circumstances in which he did his work. The critical judgment of Luke's trustworthiness as a historian has recently become much more favourable. Sir Wm. Ramsay has shown how well informed he was at all points where he can be tested by contemporary authorities. Dr. Harnack, while distrustful of his readiness to belief in the supernatural, has after exhaustive inquiry reached the conclusion that Luke, the beloved physician, was the author not only of the "we sections" but of the whole book. It is a companion of Paul's who describes his work for us. In regard to the authenticity of the letters of Paul, criticism is more closely approaching the tradi-

tions of the Christian Church. With some suspense of judgment regarding the Pastoral Epistles, the writer has freely used all the other letters in dealing with Paul's life and teaching. As these writings are genuine letters, not treatises which for literary effect are clothed in that form, they have the highest value as autobiography. While with this material at our command, we may not be able to construct a complete and certain record, yet Paul's experience, character, activity, influence, theology, and service can be known from his own self-testimony, so as to make him live again for us.

(2) **Chronology.**—The data are the following: (1) the death of Herod Agrippa I. took place at Cæsarea (Acts xii. 20–23) in A.D. 44. (2) The famine in the days of Claudius (xi. 27–30, xii. 25) lasted some years, but was partly at the same time. (3) Felix was recalled (xxiv. 27) in A.D. 55 according to Harnack, but A.D. 60 according to other chronologists. (4) As Paul left Troas on the Monday morning after the Passover, it is held possible to fix that date also, but Lewin gives 58 and Ramsay 57 as the year. (5) Stephen's martyrdom (vii.) cannot have taken place, it is argued, in Pilate's procuratorship, that is, before A.D. 36. (6) Aretas was probably not in possession of Damascus (II. Cor. xi. 32)

till after A.D. 37. The data (5) and (6) would forbid our placing the conversion before A.D. 36; but Ramsay, identifying the visit at the time of the famine (Acts xi. 27–30) with that mentioned by Paul as fourteen years after his conversion (Gal. ii. 1), an opinion with which the writer agrees, gives 32 or 33 as the date of the conversion. Harnack, reckoning back from A.D. 55 as the date of Felix's recall, places the conversion in A.D. 30. The matter cannot be fully discussed here, but the following table, slightly modified, from Hastings' Bible Dictionary gives the views of four scholars :—

	Harnack	Turner	Ramsay	Lightfoot
Crucifixion . . .	29 or 30	29	30	[30]
St. Paul's Conversion .	30	35–36	33	34
St. Paul's First Visit to Jerusalem . .	33	38	35–36	37
Second Visit to Jerusalem .	[44]	46	46	45
First Missionary Journey .	45	47	47	48
Second Missionary Journey	47	49	50	51
Arrival at Corinth . .	48	50	51	52
Third Missionary Journey .	50	52	53	54
Departure from Ephesus .	53	55	56	57
Final Visit to Jerusalem .	54	56	57	58
Arrival at Rome . .	57	59	60	61
Close of Acts . . .	59	61	62	63

Paul's death, if he was released at the end of the two years, can be placed between A.D. 65 and 67.

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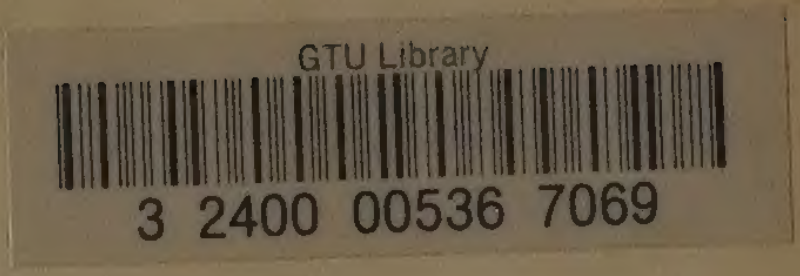

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